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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

A. C. GEEKIE, D.D.







CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

*TO WRONG PLACES, AMONG WRONG RACES,
AND IN WRONG HANDS.*

BY

A. C. GEEKIE, D.D.,

MINISTER OF ST STEPHEN'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
BATHURST, NEW SOUTH WALES.



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P R E F A C E.



MIDST the revolutions of nations, the arrogance of commerce, the boldness of science, the convulsions of nature, the spread of democracy, and the increase of scepticism, what is to become of Christianity? Shall the future of the world be Christian? Shall it be Positivist? Shall the saviour and guide of our race be THE MAN, or the clever Frenchman—Christ, or Comte? This question has been put, and variously answered; to us, however, even if religion were not at stake, there seems something almost idiotic in placing two such names side by side. Without arrogance, it may be safely said that the world never has been, and never will be, satisfied with a negation; that its ineradicable intuitions find responses in the Gospel; and that, since this is so, the Gospel must, however slowly, advance, until its Author is worshipped by all peoples. Such is the doctrine of the Record, and the opinion of all who are loyal to its teachings.

Christianity can outride all tempests, and shall sit safe and masterful when present commotions are as little thought of as the apostasy of Julian. That faith which has raised the nations to their present mental, moral, and

social stature, which has made the beggar own brother to the king, will not die by the work of its own hands. It is impossible that the religion which, for the first time in the history of mankind, has fitted every tribe, should create a power for its own destruction. It is impossible that a belief which has for the first time shown men how grand they may become, should be destroyed by the very lessons it has taught. It is impossible that the greatest boon the world ever possessed, should prove at length, by its very greatness, no boon at all, enabling men to say of itself that it is a lie. Modern progress is the offspring of Christianity, and the death of the parent would surely arrest the existence of the child.

Rome perished, but Christianity passed over to dwell with the barbarians. Learning died away, but the Gospel sanctified and formed the mediæval peoples. The infidelity of the eighteenth century did not subvert our faith at a time of spiritual torpor ; and the trimming unbeliefs of the nineteenth century will not subvert it in a period of spiritual life. If it can be said that much of modern belief is unreal, unreality can, with at least equal truth, be affirmed respecting much of our modern unbelief. The infidelity of our day is a compromise. In modern scepticism we see no faith. Christianity has no cause for fear ; it is too good to be false, too pure to die. The sceptic sees the downfall of all that is specially ours in the progress of science ; we see the advance of science and humanity to be possible only so long as the specialties which make up Christianity continue to live. To destroy Christianity as a system of beliefs is to destroy Christianity as a rule of life ; and if this rule of life lose its strength, all is lost for man-

PREFACE.

kind. The civilisation of Rome sank in spite of Christianity ; modern civilisation can live only as Christianity is retained. We feel sure that those truths, the dogmas of Revelation, which have done so much, and are so life-giving, cannot be other than ever-living themselves. The religion of Christ can never die, and must yet become the religion of all men.

We know that some Christian men think that, before our faith can universally prevail, there will be an entire change in the mode of its propagation—a wholly new arrangement. It is no part of our purpose to discuss these peculiar views. We find no reason for believing, however, that conditions substantially different from those which subsist now are at all required, or shall ever be called into existence. The provisions indicated in the New Testament as now existing for the full and final spread of Christianity, are so ample, whether these be natural, providential, or supernatural, that we fail to see why more need be done, and believe that no more will be done. We are assured that there is to be a restoration of all things ; and we believe that this magnificent result is to grow out of energies, active or latent, but now existing in the Christian Church. The business of the Church is the conversion of the world ; and God does not ask from unit or corporation what it is unqualified to perform.

Believing all this, our desire now is to say something about Protestant Missions. What have they done ? What are they doing ? How are they conducted ? Is the Church using its known power fully ? Is it making the most of actual agencies ? Can nothing better be done, or can things not be better done ? We do not

purpose writing a sentimental or devotional book. Our purpose is to look at certain facts, and to deal with them as they appear to us. What we can do, we will; and may God bless our effort.

It need only be added, that these pages have been written under great disadvantages, because of the many distractions of an absorbing colonial charge. At the same time, the writer has had the benefit of personal experience, both in Canada and Australia, besides being aided by the written or verbal statements of men now, or recently, busy in Polynesia. The facts are accurately stated; of the deductions, each reader must form his own opinion.



CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
I. FROM CEYLON TO CANADA,	I
II. THE SLAVE COAST TO TERRA DEL FUEGO,	16
III. THE NEW HOLLANDERS,	22
IV. THE NEW ZEALANDER,	28
V. NEW HEBRIDES AND LOYALTY ISLANDS,	46
VI. THE FEEJEES,	52
VII. SAMOA AND THE HERVEY ISLANDS,	62
VIII. TAHITI AND FRIENDLY ISLANDS,	74
IX. THE SANDWICH AND MARQUESAS ISLANDS,	87
X. MISTAKES,	96
XI. PROPER FIELDS,	104
XII. MACHINERY,	114
XIII. COMBINATION,	125



CHAPTER I.

FROM CEYLON TO CANADA.

WE purpose to glance, not at Francis Xavier, or any other of the many self-sacrificing men who have been sent out as missionaries by the Church of Rome, but at the conduct of missions among the Churches of the Reformation. In doing so, we need merely name the Swiss Mission to Brazil in 1556, and the mission sent to Lapland, at the instance of Gustavus Vasa, in 1559. We shall commence our inquiries by looking at the doings of the Hollanders in Ceylon and their other Eastern dependencies.

A missionary college existed at Leyden in 1612, and in 1642 Antony Hornhonijs landed as a missionary in Ceylon. The Portuguese, who had preceded the Dutch, had built churches, and the new-comers took possession of them. According to the current views as to the rights of conquest, this proceeding was to be expected; we find, however, that the men from Leyden served themselves heirs to the usages, as well as to the edifices, of the ejected Romanists. If a native wished to become a

Christian, he had only to learn to repeat the Lord's Prayer and a grace before meat. He was forthwith baptized. The government also, to induce the Ceylonese to become holy, offered their patronage and offices to such as would become members of the Reformed Church, and sign the Helvetic Confession. A similar course was pursued in Java, Formosa, and Amboyna; and by a judicious use of the lash, bribery, and fetters, these zealous evangelists made many converts. We are told that Ceylon had, in 1722, nearly half a million of Christian inhabitants, and that at the same time a hundred thousand believers were to be found in Java. Seeing that Holland possessed these countries, it was natural that her inhabitants should seek to Christianise them. It is tolerably evident, however, that their method was at fault, whether we think of their mode of dealing with individuals, or of disposing their force in different localities. Thus, while Ceylon would have absorbed all their efforts, they did not give due heed to concentration, but toiled in spots widely apart from each other. Preachers were sent to Amboyna, three or four thousand miles from Ceylon. They were also sent to Formosa, which, besides being still farther away from head-quarters, was so insecurely held, that, before forty years passed, the colony was extirpated by a Chinese pirate, and, whatever its value, the work of the missionaries brought to an utter end.

In 1708, the pastor of Vaagen, in Norway, Hans Egede, became profoundly anxious to Christianise Greenland; but it was not until 1721 that he was able to carry out his scheme; and he did so, opposed by all men, and almost all women. Norway faced to the icy lands; but

Greenland, strangely named, showed a dreary future ; even Providence gave little encouragement to Egede ; but he would not yield. He landed at a place called Ball's River, lat. 64° N. Hunger, interminable winter, threats of murder bade him begone ; but nothing daunted the brave Norwegian. Seals' flesh was poor food, and spermaceti worse butter ; but Egede endured both. In 1731, Christian VI. decreed the abandonment of the colony, but Egede remained at his post. Two years later, small-pox appeared, and Egede lodged its loathsome and dangerous victims in his own house. Heavier trials than all these now came on this noble man. The wife who had upheld him hitherto, died in 1735 ; his reason reeled, and he went back to Copenhagen. Since that time there have been always Danish missionaries in Greenland. The Moravians have also long laboured in the same quarter. The New Testament is translated ; and there are hymn-books, spelling-books, grammars, and dictionaries in the dialect of Greenland. Thus, for nearly a century and a half, there has existed, amidst peril and misery, a mission, absorbing the whole intellectual powers of very many men and women, while the entire population of Greenland is not greater than that of a moderately-sized country town. In 1852, the result of all this toil and self-denial was said to be nineteen hundred and twelve nominal Christians in West Greenland.

But Greenland is not the only quarter in which Moravians, or others, have toiled to little advantage. A Moravian Mission was begun in Lapland in 1734, and given up in 1744 ; these good people spent seventy years amongst the Indians of Berbice, and then aban-

doned the attempt ; they spent a hundred years amongst the Calmuck Tartars, and gave up the task ; they made an attempt in Persia, and utterly failed ; for thirty years they laboured in Egypt, and failed ; at Nicobar they began a mission in 1759, and left the field in 1803 ; they have been attempting for eighty years the evangelisation of Labrador.

Among the most interesting of the earlier missions, are those undertaken by our own colonists among the red men. In 1646, Roxbury, near Boston, Massachusetts, had for its minister John Eliot. Caring to the last for a large congregation of his countrymen, his heart was early moved with pity for the savages of New England, and he taught himself the dialect used by the tribes in the Massachusetts colony. It was one of his maxims, that it was absolutely necessary "to carry a *civility* with religion ;" therefore, while he preached the gospel, he endeavoured to train them to all knowledge and industry. Massachusetts, though now so very fair a land to dwell in, was then as wild as the Far West, with its dense forests, tenacious swamps, and dreary tracks ; yet every fortnight Eliot travelled among his Indians, and he was sometimes compelled to say, "I have not been dry, night or day, from the third of the week to the sixth, but have travelled about from place to place in that condition ; and at night, I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue." When he went among the savages he took presents to them, and when they came to him he fed them. In 1651, these Indians drew together and settled down in a town, which they named Natick. In 1660, the communion was celebrated among the con-

verts. Meanwhile, together with his ordinary parish work at Roxbury and his tours among the Indians, Eliot went on translating the Bible, which was printed at Cambridge, near Boston, in 1663. He also wrote and printed an Indian grammar. In 1674, there were fourteen towns of Christian Indians. Then came, as usual, wars and confusions between them and the whites, and this with so evil a result to the former, that, in 1684, there were but four regular places of worship for them in the colony. Eliot died in 1690, well named "the Indian Evangelist," and one of the most humble of Christian ministers. He toiled as few men ever toiled, and his missionary work lasted forty-four years. What, then, remains of all this marvellous toil and industry? The answer is that, in 1797, one hundred and seven years after Eliot's death, only twenty Natick Indians of pure blood existed, and their language was lost; while in 1836, thirty-nine years later, one wretched wigwam, with three or four people in it, half-Indian, half-Negro, contained the last fragment of the tribe. They are now gone. Their Bible, and a few books in their dialect, remain in public or private libraries, but the people have perished; and Eliot's great effort has proved to be for men who could not transmit what he taught them. These volumes contain the song, but the bird sings no more; and all this vast labour has proved a work for one day, not for all time.

In these times there were other notable lives, such as that of Mr Mayhew of Martha's Island, who began his work among the wanderers in 1642; or that of Richard Bourne, who began his work in 1660; or that of John Sargeant, who began his work in 1734, upon the

Hoosatonnick. All these men wrought for tribes now nearly, or wholly, extinct ; but we pass from them to one more noted, Edward Brainerd. This very saintly man entered on his mission in the neighbourhood of Albany, now within the state of New York, in the year 1743, and to the last his efforts were wonderful. Often he was among the Indians, without bread, living on maize fried with fat. Frequently sleeping out in the cold wet nights, he trembled with ague and moaned with a bloody flux. Then came consumption with its cold night-sweats, and his life hastened from him. Wearied out, a martyr to a sense of duty, he died when thirty-seven, after four years' ceaseless toil, leaving a record of his holiness which is a study, a miracle, and an example. What, then, did Brainerd accomplish? The tribes of that country are now extinct, or, if not utterly extinct, are removed to far distant regions, where they linger on, a wretched remnant. They are practically gone for ever.

That all the aboriginal tribes on the North American continent are rapidly dying out, and will be, for all practical purposes, extinct in two generations more, is a point respecting which there can be as little rational doubt, as there is respecting the rising of to-morrow's sun. No human power can save them. When Columbus landed, the red men spread over the land, from Terra del Fuego to the ice-house of the Esquimaux ; now, in North America, they are creeping westward, and dying as they go. Already, they no longer watch the sun rise from the Atlantic shores, but far away westward and northward, they struggle, recklessly or listlessly, and expire.

When the French took possession of Canada, the Hurons held the country. Now, these are all gone; such wretched villages as Indian Lorette, to which their name is still attached, being inhabited by a mongrel race, fast losing every trace of their origin. When the French landed, the Five Nations held fierce sway from the Atlantic to the inland lakes; and while a paltry few, claiming to represent them, vegetate here and there, this great confederacy has vanished. The Carib of the West Indies is a creature of the past; and so will it soon be with the North American Indian. It is simply an untruth to allege that the cause is always to be found in the bad conduct of the white man. In Canada, for the last fifty years, the Indian has been treated with paternal kindness, but the wasting never stops. These people are in a false position, to which they cannot conform, and from which they cannot be extricated. The Government has built them houses, furnished them with ploughs, supplied them constantly with rifles, ammunition, and clothing, paid their medical attendants, supported their schools, and provided for their religious instruction, setting over them intelligent and high-minded superintendents; but the result is merely this, that their extinction goes on more slowly than it otherwise would do. Their numbers, reckoning from the one end of Canada to the other, were, in 1865, not more than sixteen thousand; while the Abbé Raynal tells us that, in 1758, there were sixteen thousand Indians residing in the centre of the French settlements or their neighbourhood,—indicating, no doubt, Quebec, Montreal, and the settlements on the St Lawrence. General Murray tells us that, according to a census taken in 1758, the

year before Wolfe fell on the plains of Abraham, and Canada passed under British rule, the European inhabitants of the colony, exclusive of troops, numbered sixty thousand. At present, the inhabitants claiming a European origin are, in Lower Canada, over a million ; while the Indians in the same quarter are, not as in 1758, some sixteen thousand strong, but reduced to between six and seven thousand. As we have already seen, reckoning from the farthest east up to Lake Superior, the Canadian Indians altogether do not number more than sixteen thousand. What, then, must have been the waste among them since the census was taken one hundred and twelve years ago? To-day, a territory, two thousand miles long, contains no more Indians than the French colony round about Quebec did a century ago.

When the French took possession of Canada, the Five Nations, consisting of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Senecas, crossing the Niagara River, swept the country, and kept the new-comers in terror. In 1671, these latter formed an alliance with the Indians of the north-west, as a protection against their pitiless invaders. In 1685, the Marquis de Nonville was attacked by those near Oswego ; and in 1688 twelve hundred of them attacked the island and town of Montreal, killed nearly a thousand persons, took many prisoners, and laid the land waste. "To such a deplorable state," says Mr Smith, in his History, "was Canada then reduced, that the inhabitants hardly dared to cultivate their lands ; and those that ventured to sow their corn frequently had it destroyed by scouring parties of Mohawks, who spread desolation and horror wherever they went." They even sprung upon the

Huron Indians, and massacred them within nine miles of Quebec, the French head-quarters. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the history of Canada is one of constant war between the French with their allies, on the one part, and the Five Nations with their allies, on the other. The cruelties committed on both sides were too horrible for recital. Now, the oppressed Huron and the haughty Mohawk are alike but a name. The extinction of the Hurons was indeed so rapid, that the clergy of the Church of Rome were moved, so early as the year 1676, to make an attempt to arrest the ruin ; but all was vain. Even of those who are now given in government returns as Indians, many are such only by courtesy. This may be seen at a glance, by the visitor to such villages as Indian Lorette, which is nothing more than an extensive brothel. It is true that the boys still use the bow and arrow with dexterity, and perform some trifling feats which their Indian progenitors taught them, but Indians these lads no longer are. More or less, these remarks apply to other Indian villages also, and their application becomes more extensive every year.

Twenty-five years ago, the people of Port Sarnia, at the mouth of Lake Huron, occasionally saw a fleet of birch-bark canoes, of exceeding beauty, shoot the rapids and come into the bay. They were laden mostly with maple sugar, and they came from the Manitoulin Islands. The men who paddled them so far were still uncontaminated; and they were splendid specimens of the race, contrasting strikingly and suggestively with the Sarnia men, then settled below that town. The facts connected with these Sarnia Indians will shed light on the history of their brethren in other quarters.

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More than a generation ago, the colonial authorities of the day set apart a strip of land, five miles long and about one mile deep, upon the banks of the beautiful St Clair. Into this reserve were gathered certain bands of Chippewas, Pottawatomies, and Ottawas, then ranging about in that unsettled region. Before their doors ran the clear, great stream, ever beautiful, and full of delicious fish. Behind them, to the west, and on either side of them, spread out vast tracts of forest-land, flat, swampy, and tenanted chiefly by red deer, wolves, and bears. The government built excellent log huts for these people, better houses than the emigrants going into the bush were able to procure. They also provided them with ploughs, oxen, axes, harrows, seed : all, in a word, which the white stranger had to buy or toil for, the red man had for nothing. What more could be done? There were they housed and provided for, living on land fit for culture, and on the banks of a stream, out of whose waters alone they could have drawn almost all their living. The climate, also, was as good as in any part of Upper Canada. There, too, were their own church and school-house, their clergyman, their teacher, and their physician. They were a pet people. And yet the end is failure. An acre here and there was cleared ; poor fences were put up ; maize was sown in small patches ; a few potatoes were put in ; pigs of the vilest breed increased, multiplied, and lived at random ; they had cows and horses also ; and still, progress there was none. The emigrant came by and by. Alone, often penniless, on the bank of no delicious river, away back in the dark bush, among great trees, slimy swamps, and croaking frogs, under every disadvantage, he neverthe-

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less rapidly advanced. But the Indian would not toil. He made a little maple sugar in spring time; he killed a deer when deer were about; he set night-lines and caught a few *pickeral*; he cut a little cord wood for a white neighbour, or he drew out a little pile to the river bank, for sale to some steamer; but he would do no continuous work. He was no drunkard. He was honest in his way. The squaws, too, were as virtuous, or rather more so, perhaps, than usual. All was favourable to him. No savage could be better off, and no savage could be better protected. The neighbouring town was one of the most decorous towns in the whole country; while, in later years, they had, for their superintendent, the truly admirable brother of the late Sir Thomas N. Talfourd. With all this, however, the Indian could not hold his own. In 1864, the Sarnia band, thus favoured, numbered 497, and in 1865 they had fallen down to 485, twelve less during a year, showing a loss of one a month, even supposing no births had taken place, but a much heavier loss, if the births of the year be taken into account.

Why this steady dying out? The reason is easily found. It is not caused by drunkenness, nor by hunger, nor by bad lodging, nor by debauchery, nor by any kind of neglect. It is the result, simply, of a race low in the social scale coming into inevitable contact with the compactness of European civilisation. The savage is face to face with a fact, to him, largely incomprehensible, and wholly insurmountable. He is abashed; he gazes with awe at the white intruder; he feels his own impotence. Pride may, for a time, support him; pride supports him while

he roams the woods in eagle-like freedom ; but pride of the best type dies, when he is bound down by inevitable circumstances to a spot of ground. Then he confronts his superiors, and, unable to escape, knows that he is a feeble creature. The European mind, industries, and methods of life, he dimly apprehends, and beholds afar off. He has no hope of attaining to these. Before he could learn these, he must die. As for his children, they have his hereditary tendencies ; and albeit they may comprehend the life of Europe better than he can, still they too are Indians, sinking down more than even he did into a hopeless apathy. The British wish to raise one's-self is unknown to the Indian. Centuries have developed it in the European races ; to the Indian, it is a foreign thought. The Indian, tied down, is a caged bird, cowed, but not civilised ; vanquished, quiet, hopeless, but not civilised. His life went down from its summer heat and power when he left the great, the free, the unmeasured forest. In a British colony he has neither aim, nor place, nor action. He is a postscript, not of the body of society. He is an angularity, not fitting in with those who have gathered round about him. The run of his life comes down to the mighty stream, but does not enter into or mingle with it. The current, on to which, as at right angles, his streamlet has unwillingly flowed, hurries on, and neither knows nor can know, waits nor can wait for him. His career is arrested ; and as the dam throws back the water, so his life is thrown back, to stagnate and perish, by that great onflow whose edge it touches. The very kindness shown him hurts him. It makes him feel that he is a child now, helpless and incapable. In the woods he

needed no aid ; now he is a pauper, and his heart fails him. As the aged man weeps when he is nursed, because he then feels that he is broken, so the Indian mourns when conscious of protection.

No doubt, the Deputy-Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Canada states, in his Report for 1865, that there was an increase among the aborigines, comparing the years 1863 and 1864. The comparison, however, is not satisfactory, and the figures given not thoroughly reliable. Mr Spragge himself says, "I have no hesitation, however, in saying that the apparent increase which this comparison exhibits is to be relied on to a limited extent only." There is really no increase. Here and there, where "bands" of Indians are losing their blood and becoming Europeanised, a slight addition may be found ; but this is actually no addition to the red race ; but, to all intents and purposes, an addition to the mongrel, nondescript blood of the colony, just as an octoroon is more an addition to the whites than to the negroes.

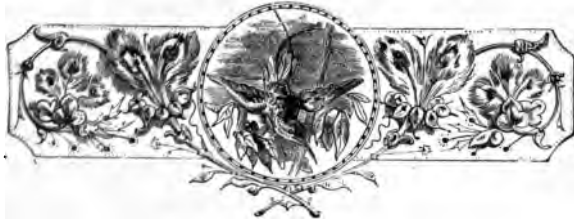
Many years ago, Catlin computed the whole of the Indians alive in North America at 2,000,000 ; and if his estimate had any approach to accuracy, their extinction is going on very rapidly. The report of the Committee of the House of Commons, published in 1857, respecting the Hudson's Bay Company and their territory, contains most reliable and important facts. Thus it is stated, on the aboriginal map which accompanies the report, that the estimated number of Indians in North America was, at that date, as follows :—Hudson's Bay Territory, 135,000 ; in the United States, still east of the Mississippi, 26,796 ; removed from the Eastern

States to the west of the Mississippi, 77,447; Indians, being natives of the territory west of the Mississippi, and east of the Rocky Mountains, 213,000; in Canada, 16,000. These figures give a total of rather less than half a million in the United States, and the British dominions of the Hudson's Bay Territory and Canada. Making a liberal allowance for those who may be unreckoned in Mexico and east of the Rocky Mountains, we cannot suppose that all North America contained in 1857 one million of its native race; while we have every reason for believing that, what with wars, disease, and ordinary causes, the years which have elapsed since the report was published have greatly lessened their numbers.

Sir George Simpson informed the Committee, that he thought the Indians in the "thick wood" country had increased, but that in the prairie country they were dying out, from wars and small-pox. Bancroft, the historian, is quoted in the report as saying that in the United States, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Creeks, and the Winnibagoes, are increasing in contact with the whites; but, if correct, this increase will be, as in Canada, a mongrel increase, not an Indian. The (late, we believe) Bishop of Rupert's Land said they are decreasing. Lt.-Col. Lefroy said that he had passed two years in the Hudson's Bay Territory, and that it is a known fact that the red man disappears as the white man approaches; that the mere fact of white settlements tends to destroy the Indian; that, in the vast district between Canada and the Pacific, there is reason to believe that the Indians are wasting away. His words are,—“I believe there is a constant depressing moral

influence, which is caused by association with classes in a superior condition of comfort to themselves. They contract pulmonary complaints, their children are born with weakened constitutions, and their families are diminished in numbers; and the result is, that it is hard to find an Indian family of more than three or four children." Colonel Lefroy further states that, while some progress has been made in attempts to civilise them, "they die out in the process." Mr Blanshard, formerly Governor of Vancouver's Island, states that, in his belief, it is a well-known fact that the Indian disappears as the white approaches; and that if Vancouver's Island were civilised, the Indians would die out.





CHAPTER II.

THE SLAVE COAST TO TERRA DEL FUEGO.

IN the year 1797, the Scottish Missionary Society became interested in Western Africa, and chose the Susoo country as their sphere; but in three or four years the work stopped, one of their agents having been murdered, and the other having been all but brought to the grave by the climate. The Glasgow Society also employed missionaries in the same direction, and with results as little satisfactory. In the beginning of the century, the Church Missionary Society sent a large staff to this same Susoo country, and they began their labours in the house of a slave-trader, paying the rent by educating his children. This attempt ended in 1818, but not until thirty men, women, and children connected with the mission had perished from disease. Even this slaughter did not deter, however; for, in 1823, the same Society sent fresh missionaries to Sierra Leone, of whom, with their wives and children, not fewer than twenty-five died in three or four

years. Even so late as 1844, an English Mission was begun at Badagry, but it was necessary speedily to remove it to Lagos; and we suppose that, to a greater or less extent, missionaries, connected with various communions, are working in these regions at this hour. But Western Africa has allured and swept off other than Scottish and English missionaries. The German Missionary Society, having its seat at Basle, and representing the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of South-western Germany, sent out between the years 1827 and 1828 eight men to this quarter; and of the eight, within a few months, four died, and two were driven away by illness, while other four men, sent to Fort Christianburg in 1828, all died soon after landing. Even this sickening havoc did not daunt the good men of the south; and in 1831, three more victims were sent out, of whom two died in a month or so, while four years after, the sad survivor was joined by yet two more, who, in their turn, were both buried before it was possible for them to learn the language of their hearers.

When the Scottish Missionary Society was driven from the West of Africa, they commenced operations in a more salubrious, but certainly in a more inaccessible region than that which they had wisely abandoned. In 1802, their agents were at work between the Black Sea and the Caspian, having for their head-quarters a village named Karass, whose inhabitants were all Mohammedans. Under the sanction of the Imperial Government of Russia, an attempt at colonisation was also made in this neighbourhood. In 1815, the Tartars of Astrakhan were sought after, but the result was that, from the apathy of these wanderers, the fierceness of the

Mohammedans, and the annoyances coming either from the Imperial Government or its officers, the Society's operations in that quarter were all abandoned in 1824, after some twenty years of diligent and intelligent toil. Of the withdrawn missionaries, one died an honoured minister in New South Wales, another became successor to Edward Payson of Portland, Maine, and a third died chaplain to the Bridewell of Edinburgh. Certain missions to Siberia were also devised and given up. Of these attempts, all that remains is the translating effected. We have already seen that no experience teaches some men, and especially the directors of German missions,—that they devoted their countrymen to die, when people of other and cooler lands refused any longer to do so. Hence, when the Scottish Mission left the Russian Empire, precisely as if their failure was an inducement, and not a warning, the German Society sent agents to labour in the same districts; and these good people, after working for fourteen years, were dismissed by the authorities in 1835.

In the year 1816, we find the London Missionary Society working at Malta and the Ionian Islands, with a hazy thought of somehow or other affecting the Greek Church. The cost of this enterprise was great; its success, *nil*; and its end, in 1844. With no better success, desultory attempts in the same direction have been made by the Church Missionary Society all over the Levant, and at various points of Asia Minor.

We have seen the hopelessness of attempting to establish missions on the west coast of Africa. As a continent, however, Africa has ever been fondly looked upon as one of the lands to which Christianity

must sooner or later be sent ; and more recent discoveries, from the time of Dr Livingstone to that of Sir Samuel Baker, have deepened this feeling. Previous to such discoveries, great efforts, rewarded by some success, had been made on the borders of our Cape Colony. After Dr Livingstone's first visit to England, however, it was resolved that an attempt should be made to carry the doctrines of the Cross beyond all colonies into the very heart of this hitherto unknown land. To this end, Cambridge provided funds, and Bishop Mackenzie. Anything more unhappy, nevertheless, than this enterprise can hardly be narrated. Dr Livingstone had expressed the wish that English clergymen should occupy the Zambesi ; he wished, however, as a pre-requisite, and, we do not doubt, in his mind a *sine qua non*, an English colony in the Highlands of Africa. All this he stated to Lord Malmesbury and Miss Burdett Coutts. It turned out, however, that the clergy, but not the colony, were forthcoming. Bishop Mackenzie, with five or six clergymen, one physician, one surgeon, and a few mechanics and labourers, went from England,—the money price, twenty thousand pounds. At Capetown, Mackenzie was consecrated, and he was designated for the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the River Shire and the Lake Nyassa. To this unknown region, accordingly, the Bishop and his handful of novices proceeded. Poor fellows ! Hundreds of miles up the Shire they established themselves on a hill, four thousand feet, indeed, above the level of the sea, but in a hole below the level of the surrounding land ! Then came battles with the slavers, toiling to the uttermost, disease, fainting, failing, death. Mackenzie died,

Scudamore died, Dickinson died, and the mission was a bubble. The whole thing was a blunder. The Bishop of Capetown's sagacious advice was, that this mission should commence on the frontiers of the South African dioceses, already full of Christian men, and that thence it should work onwards towards the Zambesi, keeping ever open its communications with the rear. But this was too prudent a plan for English inexperience and enthusiasm.

A companion story to that of Bishop Mackenzie remains to be recalled, in connection with Captain Allen F. Gardiner. We need not go over all the schemes and efforts of this devoted though miscalculating man, previous to his last visit to Terra del Fuego. Suffice it to say, that the Straits of Magellan cut off an island from the mainland of South America, and this island is called Terra del Fuego, while the mainland from which it is cut off is called Patagonia. Captain Gardiner fancied that, by beginning either on the island or on the mainland, he might, in time, reach the Indians to the north. In 1844, he visited this region of tempest and desolation, and travelled about a good deal, but met with so few of the natives and with so many difficulties, that, in a month's time, he went back to England. In 1848, Captain Gardiner renewed his attempt, but found everything so unpropitious, that, a week after landing, he sailed away again and returned to England. Again, in 1850, he went back to the scene which so strangely fascinated him, having six others with him. As before, they seldom saw the natives, and, when they did see them, anxiously avoided them; and, sailing about from point to point, all that was done was to contract sick-

ness and consume stores. In March 1851, the party were on the brink of starvation. By the end of August, three were dead ; and the survivors were all gone in September. On the 22d of October, an American vessel reached Picton Island ; and those who landed found one man dead in a boat, and another dead on the beach. On the 21st January 1852, the frigate *Dido* visited Spaniard Harbour, and the body of poor Gardiner was found lying beside his boat, and that of Mr Maidment lying in a cave. Compared with this, a mission to Sierra Leone is common sense and tender humanity.





CHAPTER III.

THE NEW HOLLANDERS.

NO fields of missionary labour have interested the world more than those in the South Seas. Old men still remember when the story of their discovery was as fresh as is the Crimean war ; and men, not yet old, read, as the proper travel books of their boyhood, the voyages of Cook, Carteret, Wallis, and Bligh. Nor can any one ever forget the air of romance, which, like the perfume of a bean-field, pervaded the boy's senses as he read these simple narratives. The islands were beautiful, the fruits were luscious, the inhabitants were noble creatures. And while all about these far-off lands is now fast changing, the interest attaching to them varies, but never lessens.

Captain Cook landed at Botany Bay in 1770. What is supposed to be the precise spot was, years ago, pointed out by an aged black who witnessed the invasion ; and on the spot, so pointed out, there now stands a

lasting monument which is itself a marvel, being the work of the teeming multitudes who now cluster round Port Jackson. When Cook landed, the aborigines were scattered along the coasts, and wandered in the interior. They never resided in villages, nor had any continuity, but moved in tribes, whose varying dialects prevented much intercourse, and whose constant wars arrested an increase, if they did not actually lead to a decline, in their numbers. They were ever a feeble and degraded people. It would be a great error, however, to understand by such statements that they were, as a race, incapables.

Incapables they assuredly are not, either in mind or in body. They are savages; their life is of the lowest type; but, individually, they possess a quickness of mind as notable as is their agility of body. There is no want of capacity among them. All who speak to them, look at them, deal with them, see at once that they have intellect, quick if not patient, and penetrating if not comprehensive. The vulgar view of this people is exceedingly erroneous. With all their cleverness, however, they have never submitted to civilisation. Judge Therry says—"The problem has yet to be solved, of bringing even a single aboriginal of New Holland within the pale of civilisation. Schools have been formed for their instruction, and liberal allowances given to teachers and religious instructors—whilst children, and until they arrive at the age of early youth, they have attended with apparent propriety to these institutions formed for their enlightenment, but invariably, on coming to mature years, they have thrown away the clothing provided for

their use, taken to the woods, and resumed a savage and wandering life. Though at times they will remain for many months, even a year and upwards, at a settler's station where they have been well treated, yet they will stray off at length, and rejoin their native tribe. The nearest approach to the successful reclaiming of a New Hollander from this rude course of life, is the well-known one of Beneloug, a native chief, who, in the vice-royalty of the first governor, Philip, showed favourable symptoms of intelligence. At an early age he was sent to England for his education, and, after some years' absence, returned to the colony. He had so far advanced in external propriety of manners, as to be invited to the table of the governor. Yet even he soon after doffed his gentleman's garb, threw the opossum rug over his shoulders, and, with spear in hand, deserted a comfortable home. He preferred, as a course of life, to traverse his native forest."

They are everywhere dying out. Fearful tales are told of atrocities committed by white ruffians in the early times of the colonies in Australia, and places are still pointed out, where they drove bands of blacks—men, women, and children—into gorges amongst the mountains, and there shot them down like carrion crows. Even now we occasionally hear of their being slaughtered in the north. Some years ago, a miserable man was hanged for the murder of a German; he had become accustomed to blood by shooting blacks, whose ears he cut off and hung on a string in the hut he might chance to occupy. Even while, however, this race has often been abused by the bad, white men are not always to blame.

It might suit certain persons, who see wrong nowhere but with their own brethren, to lay all the blame upon Europeans; but this inconvenience would attend such a representation, that it would not be true. The aborigines have many times been terribly the aggressors, slaughtering, with wild recklessness, sheep and cattle, often killing the shepherds, and sometimes destroying whole households. The white man spreads, must spread, and should spread; and collisions inevitably occur, harassing to the settler at the time, and ruinous to the savage in the end. Still, as a rule, the colonists are kind to these people.

Only a guess has ever been made as to the numbers of the New Hollanders. The Tasmanian blacks are extirpated; in New South Wales and Victoria, only a handful remains; in Queensland, which goes northward to the ocean, it is supposed there may be ten thousand; and in South Australia, which also reaches to the north, there may be five thousand: so that, if these estimates be tolerably correct, from thirty to forty thousand would be a liberal allowance for the whole surviving aboriginal population of the continent.

It is painful to come in contact with them in an old colony such as New South Wales. Riding up to some head-station, you are told to look at some lonely woman, who, with a child or two, is one of the last of the tribe once hunting that district. Or you come upon a small group of men and women, lingering about another establishment, the men doing an odd job for the squatter, and the women hanging about the kitchen—the reward for their slight services being a little tobacco or flour. Or, riding late, as you approach the hospitable dwelling

of the white man, you pass the smouldering fire, and by its dim light discern the dark outline of a few sleepers, who, wrapped in their ragged 'possum rugs, seek shelter from wind and rain under their only roof, a sheet of bark leaning against a tree or horizontal pole. In an inland town, creeping about the streets begging, or grinning and drunk under the veranda of some tavern, you see an extinct tribe represented by a ragged man or woman. Or some kindly squatter takes you to a lonely burial ground among the gum trees, and there shows you a stone, "To the memory of Bobby,"—a king once powerful there, and now off the earth.

That instances exist where a number of this race, having been gathered together, kept together, and, carefully tended and taught, show some slight increase, admits of no doubt. But such exceptional cases and results do not affect the facts already given. The Australian is dying out as surely as the red man, and much more rapidly.

People have spoken of their hunting-grounds being taken up, and their food having become scarce ; but their food is as abundant as ever, for opossums, guanos, and grubs are as plentiful as ever. The obvious causes of their disappearance are found in their drunkenness and sensuality—the two vices of that class of white men with whom they inevitably come in contact, and the vices to which they themselves are most prone. Nothing can arrest these evils. No penalty can deter European offenders from going on in their offences, and the blacks are greedy to sin. No government, no philanthropists, can create purity of heart and life.

Whatever else may tend in the same direction, coarse rum and low sensuality are of themselves rapidly extirpating, and are of themselves quite fitted rapidly to extirpate this race. A few half-castes, hemmed in by Christian institutions and artificial barriers, may linger here and there for two or three generations, but the race of New Hollanders will soon be as much a thing of history as the dodo.





CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW ZEALANDER.

THE Maori is the finest savage known. He excels the Red Indian. His figure is splendid, his strength great, his courage unconquerable, and his intellect vigorous and acute. The first regular settlement of his islands by Europeans began in 1839, through the agency of the New Zealand Company, and after much hesitation the imperial authorities established a regular colonial government in 1840. Before these dates, runaway convicts had increased, American whalers had traded, and a few missionaries and other respectable persons had settled on the islands; but in 1843 the older white population was very small, and five or six thousand emigrants comprised all the later arrivals. In 1867, the European population, excluding soldiers, had increased to 218,637, a prodigious growth in twenty-four years. Thus, in spite

of ill usage and unfair usage, a great empire grows under London Bridge, on islands whose area equals that of Britain, and whose climate is greatly similar.

Let us now look at the native race. In 1848, the Maories were estimated at 100,000; according to the census of 1858, they numbered only 56,049; and, according to the census of 1868, they numbered only 38,500. During the first ten years accounted for, forty-four per cent. of the aborigines disappeared, and during the second ten years, seventeen and a half per cent. disappeared—indicating an extirpation in twenty years of sixty-one per cent. of this people. These are the official figures, and they need no comment.

It has been customary to speak of the New Hollander as a degraded outcast, whose extirpation, as the feeblest child of humanity, was not to be wondered at; but what is to be said, when we find this Maori, the noblest of all wild men, wasting as rapidly as the other?

It will probably be alleged that this is one more illustration of the need for an Aborigines Protection Society; but the Maori is a man who would not thank such an organisation for its sympathy and assistance. He knows that he is doomed to extinction, and he knows that no ill usage has brought this doom upon him. He is dying away, in spite of the fact that he has been a pet savage, and that the white man in his country has been systematically sacrificed for his real or imaginary interests. If it be alleged that the wars with the settlers have slaughtered this people, the reply is that such wars have done little or nothing to affect him, so far as loss of life in battle is concerned. Indirectly, no doubt, such struggles have helped to break them down; but all this,

and far more than all this, admitted, the evil is radical, and had there never been a shot fired, it would have worked out its results with unerring certainty. The Maori himself is well aware of his approaching end. Somewhere about the month of May 1868, a large meeting of Maories was held near New Plymouth, R. Parris, Esq., Civil Commissioner at Taranaki, being present. The assembly took place in a large native building erected for the purpose. The walls and roof were lined with reeds, and the floor covered with mats. At one end there were seats for the Europeans, of whom there was a large attendance. Mr Parris opened the conference, by expressing his pleasure that they had come so peaceably, and the reply he received was substantially this: "You have our land. The white man is surely winning our land from us; and when the time comes that the country is fully peopled, and men must needs go forth again, as the Pakehas have already done from their England, there will be no Maories to go forth, for all shall have disappeared." Thus, in 1868, the *New Zealander* discerned and spoke of his fate.

Sir George Bowen became governor in 1868, and he at once called for accurate information, from official persons in the various districts, respecting the social and political condition of the natives at that date. The several reports were printed by order of the government during the same year. The resident magistrate at Waimate, Mr E. M. Williams, says—"Physically, the natives are a fine athletic people, capable of undergoing much bodily fatigue, hardship, and privation, enduring pain with much fortitude, but possessing no stamina to support them in sickness. . . . It is an undeniable fact,

admitted by even the natives themselves, that they are gradually on the decrease. Some *hapus* (tribes) whose numbers were formerly reckoned by hundreds, may now be told by tens; and of no *hapu* can it be said with certainty, that it is on the increase." Mr Rogan, resident at Kaipara, says: "In the space of ten years, the original occupiers of the Kaipara have decreased from six to five hundred, one hundred in number. . . . The natives who occupied the Wairoa district twenty years ago, have almost entirely disappeared." Mr H. Wardell, resident magistrate at Wairarapa, says, that "the present population of this district is 850, showing a decrease of seventy-five since 1865." This, Mr Wardell attributes to the small number of births, excepting, however, the fact that *ten* men had been killed in war. Mr F. E. Maning, Judge of the Native Land Court at Auckland, says, of the country north of Auckland, "the population is, as a whole, on the decrease, though much less rapidly than was the case from twenty to thirty or forty years back. In one district (Hokianga), the decrease was checked, and an increase certainly apparent about fifteen years ago, for some four or five years. The population now in that district is about stationary, or, if anything, slightly tending to increase; but, as a whole, the population seems to have a tendency to a continual decrease." Mr Maning thinks it possible that better habits might arrest this decay, and that some indications of an improvement do appear; but he adds, that if a change for the better "does not take place generally before a certain point of decrease has been reached, the ultimate extinction of the race is certain;" while Mr Searancke, resident magistrate at Hamilton,

speaks of the natives in his neighbourhood as, "on the whole, on the increase." Mr Barston, resident magistrate at Russell, says: "I append a table of the census of the hundred of Kororareka, taken nominally in November 1864. Since that time, a reduction of two per cent. in numbers has taken place. . . . This table of population shows the lamentable deficiency in the number of children necessary for keeping up a progressively increasing people, and the numerical preponderance of the male over the female sex. . . . I believe that one half of the entire population represented in this return are upwards of forty-five years of age, and one third not less than sixty. Many attain a very great age, and I should say that individuals who have seen ninety years are not unfrequent. . . . But the generation between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five has almost entirely disappeared; and of the children, the majority are of such tender years, that they have not yet been submitted to the ordeal of mesenteric disease, which carries off a large measure of those between the ages of seven and twelve. Mr Clark, Civil Commissioner at Tauranga, says—"I do not think the natives in the Tauranga district are on the increase; comparatively few children are to be found among them. Many of the principal men are childless; in other cases, whole families, numbering eight and ten, have been swept away. . . . From a census taken by me eighteen months ago, I find there were 468 men, 419 women, and 311 children." Mr Nesbitt, resident magistrate at Maketu, says: "In consequence of the employment of the people by the government, at present I do not think the population is decreasing." Mr Cooper, resident

magistrate at Napier, says: "Although the Maori population here is, as elsewhere, decreasing, the process is much less rapid than amongst other tribes." Mr Campbell, resident magistrate at Waiapu, says: "The present native population, extending from Tauranga (inclusive) to Matakawa, is 4270. There can be no doubt that they are rapidly decreasing, from my own observation as well as from the best information I have been able to obtain. Some settlements on the coast, which a few years ago numbered from eight hundred to one thousand inhabitants, do not at present count half the number." Mr Durie, resident magistrate at Whanganui, says: "As to their physical and moral condition, I must report unfavourably. The present race are decidedly inferior to their fathers. . . . Morally speaking, the natives have much retrograded."

These extracts all tell one tale; for, however guardedly a witness may indicate a possible arrest in the ruin of the Maori race, this is done on the supposition of conditions and changes which will never be realised. Or, if a slight increase is feebly maintained, this is limited, and is the result of some peculiar influence, working for the moment, and in a special locality. Mr Barston, of Russell, concludes his valuable report with these words: "Whether it be that youth is the time for sanguine views, and that with age come distrust and despondency, I must confess that the longer I dwell among my dark-skinned brethren, the more I become impressed with a conviction that no means can be now adopted which would arrest, or even sensibly protract, the decadence of the Maori race. It may be that when but a few, a handful of survivors remain, our control over them shall

be so direct and absolute, that we may be able to enforce sanitary and dietary regulations, and, as it were, compel them to exist in spite of themselves. It is painful to stand by with folded hands and let be ; but I am bound to admit that I can suggest no remedy for what to me appears the inevitable passing away of the Maori." This is the deliberate judgment of an educated magistrate who has been in constant communication with the race for twenty-five years.

The causes for this obliteration are various. There is, in the fore-front, the depressing influence which a superior race always exercises upon an inferior. Just as the red man is self-abased in the presence of the white, so is the Maori, even although, like the Indian, he never admits the fact. It is vain that occasionally he drives back our troops and seamen from some well-constructed *pah*, or that he surprises and destroys a detachment by an ambuscade, or that he sweeps down upon some defenceless cottages and massacres their hapless inmates, or that the colony is depressed and tortured by his riot and rebellion—he knows that it is for one brief hour, the lighting up before death, the great writhing before the final sleep. He is an overshadowed and hopeless man. Brave, sensitive, proud, he would fain have New Zealand for the New Zealander ; but he knows it cannot be—that the night cometh—and he lifts his crest and seeks to die, the wild creature he has lived, and free as of old.

Old habits, jarring with the customs of civilisation, are hastening on the extirpation. One magistrate speaks of physical deterioration as largely caused by the partial adoption of European clothing and food, while they still

cling to many of their rudest customs. Another speaks of wooden cottages taking the place of their *raupo* huts, and of their having lost much of their old energy, while they have acquired little else than the vices of civilisation. "Formerly," says another, "the state of New Zealand society was such that each tribe was at war with its neighbour, and every member was constantly occupied either with war, or building fortifications, offensive and defensive, in obtaining food, or in fishing. Their wearing apparel alone, obtained from the flax or *Ti*, caused some trouble and labour. Notwithstanding, the natives were then a hardy race, undergoing the greatest privations, travelling on the war-path, swimming rivers, and living on what they could catch. Their mode of life has been completely changed within the last generation. They cultivate patches of land without interruption. The blanket is worn by them day and night. The immoderate use of tobacco and spirits, their uncleanly habits, and perhaps, more than all, their indolence, are the great causes of the gradual but certain decay of the natives of Kaipara in particular, and New Zealand generally."

The vices of the Maories are destroying them. Drunkenness is spoken of as a very prevalent evil. Mr Barston declares that it is on the increase, and states that the enactment passed in 1846, forbidding the sale of ardent spirits to the natives, has been "habitually broken both by whites and natives, and the government cannot enforce its observance." He also adds: "I believe that the Maories drink more out of bravado than they would do if they could legitimately procure a supply. They have even commenced distilling their

own spirituous liquors, and I have been informed that three stills are in operation between Waimate and Hokianga." Mr Cooper says: "Drunkenness has, within the last three or four years, increased to an extent simply awful to contemplate." Mr Williams says: "The efforts made by the Legislature to limit the use of intoxicating drinks amongst the natives have been praiseworthy, and it is to be regretted that these efforts have not proved more successful; but such has been the increasing desire on the part of the natives for ardent spirits, excited by those very restrictions which would have kept them free, such the facilities afforded them for obtaining the same, and the reluctance manifested by all parties to inform against delinquents, that the law has been set at defiance, openly violated by all, the authorities having no means of checking the evil. In conversing with the natives on the subject of drunkenness, they have repeatedly told me, that to a great extent it has been carried on in a spirit of bravado—a determination to convince the government that restriction is useless—observing at the same time that, if the restriction were removed, there would be less drinking. To these remarks I am disposed to give credence. Such is the love of opposition inherent in a Maori, that were he told the restriction on spirits had been removed and placed on the sale of beer, the chances are, he would at once become an inveterate beer drinker."

Their sensuality is also excessive. Mr Barston says: "During the first three years of my residence in this place (Russell), and about the year 1859, the natives depended chiefly for their supplies of clothing and tobacco upon the demand for agricultural produce, caused

by the resort of American whaleships to this port, supplemented, I regret to add, by the proceeds of the prostitution of their women, for at that time, as indeed for the preceding thirty years, every girl, before marriage, was considered an article of commerce." Mr Nesbitt says: "I must say that the natives do not seem to feel that the want of chastity is attended with any great amount of moral degradation, and matrimonial ties are very lax." Mr Cooper says: "Morality, as regards intercourse between the sexes, is almost gone from them." Mr Parris says: "The withering effects of drunkenness and dissipation are painfully visible among those who have been most in communication with our own race; and where this is the case, the physical condition of the people is, as may be supposed, greatly deteriorated." It must be added in connection with these statements, that the most loathsome diseases are widely diffused, and have become "more virulent and contagious by their uncleanly habits."

We have already stated that there are few children among the natives. Mr Williams says, that "there is a seeming inability to rear children;" and that, "the mortality is not confined to children of tender age, many dying off between the ages of five and fourteen." He adds, "Neglected from earliest infancy, seldom washed or clothed, fed upon unwholesome food, crowded at night into close, unhealthy huts, and exposed during the day, almost in a state of nudity, to every change of weather,—the wonder is that they rear even the number that they do." Mr Cooper speaks of the heavy death-rate among the children, but he also states that the birth-rate is "insufficient to keep up the numbers," and that the Maori

women are unfruitful. Mr Parris affirms that the children among the rebel tribes appear weak and unhealthy. Add to all this, the fact that scrofula is now hereditary among them, and that mesenteric diseases, fevers, consumption, and measles are very common, and the failure of a coming generation is adequately accounted for.

It has occasionally been alleged that through inter-tribal marriages the race has lost vitality ; but while there may be something in this, such influence is as nothing, compared with those influences already pointed out. It is needless, we believe, to look further for the decay of the Maori than to the fact that he is indolent, filthy in his habits, negligent of his children, living between the opposing currents of savagism and civilisation, a prey to all strumous and loathsome diseases, a drunkard and a profligate. We need surely go no further for the story of his disappearance than to the facts so fully stated in the official papers thus largely quoted.

Great, persistent, intelligent, and apparently at one time successful efforts have been made for the conversion of the Maories to Christianity. It did appear to the world at a distance, at all events, that some years ago they had, as a race, embraced the religion of Christendom. The appearance, however, of a true conversion has proved illusory. Later years have shown that the truths of the Bible have never made any real impression upon the masses of this people. Making every allowance for the waywardness and animalism of the savage, not eradicable for generations, the moral worthlessness of the Maori is excessive. We do not say that he is worse than some others, there may be some

other races as bad; if, however, any others, having so many advantages, are as bad as the Maori, the conclusion appears to be simply this, that in other cases as well as this Christianity has never reached the heart. No doubt, it would be absurd to expect universal righteousness among barbarians, when this is not to be found among civilised men; but we believe it would not be too much to expect some outward improvement, some arrest of swinishness, some elevation, some belief among those who know them best, that, on the whole, the race has been bettered, uplifted, sanctified, by their avowal of the true faith. When, however, we have made all allowance for such as have really submitted themselves to the gospel as a plan of salvation and a rule of life, we find the multitude apparently worse than when Captain Cook landed, adepts in every European vice, and in many cases hypocrites into the bargain.

Mr Searancke speaks of the natives with whom he comes in contact, as improving in their morals, "while their religious observances have almost ceased;" a statement this, so far as morals are concerned, so much at variance with the testimony of other magistrates and universal experience, that we venture to say that this gentleman is mistaken. Mr Clark says: "Before the natives were engaged in the Waikato war, they were very particular respecting their religious duties. They were particular about their attendance at the different places of worship, strict in their observance of the Sabbath, and in performing other Christian duties; but since the peace-making, the religion taught them by their old missionaries has been, for the most part, thrown aside. This is not confined to any particular sect—Church of

England and Roman Catholic are alike." Mr Cooper says: "Their religious convictions, never very strong or sincere, have now almost entirely evaporated. True, they generally attend worship (at Napier) on Sundays *since they abandoned Hauhauism*, but they think very little of the matter, and the outward semblance of devotion does not survive the departure of the missionary; whilst 'Sabbath observance,' for which they used once to be famous, has quite gone out of fashion. Of course, there are exceptions to the above rules, but every unprejudiced observer will admit that they are all but universally applicable." Mr Durie at Whanganui, says: "Morally, the natives have much retrograded. There is not that rigid observance of the duties inculcated by a sound, religious teaching, as is instanced in the want of a strict observance of the Sabbath, and a partial relapse into heathenism, as is to be seen by their recurring to the practice of *tatooing*, and their belief in witchcraft and the arts of divination. Of course there are many exceptions to this. Referring to Te Ua, a *Hauhau*, Mr Wardell of Wairarapa says: "The avidity with which the natives embraced his teaching, presented a remarkable view of native character; it showed clearly that the previous profession of the doctrines of Christianity had been the result of fashion rather than belief, and was a fresh proof of the eagerness with which a half savage race will embrace any novelty which is presented to it." The *New Zealand Herald*, of July 27, 1868, says: "Are the natives instructed, Christianised, civilised? . . . If we examine the state of the Maories in regard to religious improvement and education, we find a general falling off. *Hauhauism*, which has been em-

braced by large numbers of Maories, is an abnegation of Christianity. . . . But though the Maories are not *Hauhaus*, how very few among them show that outward respect for Christianity, its ordinances, and its ministers, that they formerly did ! 'The cords are loosed. Their religious convictions, never more than skin-deep in the majority of cases, seem to have almost entirely vanished.' The *Otago Witness*, of November in the same year, says : " Had the departure of Bishop Selwyn been delayed for three weeks, he would have had the mortification of carrying home with him sorrowful evidence of the fruitlessness of his past labours. Twenty-six years of his earnest and vigorous life have been spent in unceasing endeavours to Christianise the native race. The memory of 'Herewini' will live among many of his disciples for years to come ; and among those disciples there probably are some who have profited by the new faith instilled into them. But to what extent is the race improved by the self-sacrificing labours of the evangelist ? It is admitted on all hands that religion has no influence over them, and that its place has been supplied by the basest superstitions. With abundant evidence of this truth before us, it is a matter of some interest to note the opinions of Bishop Selwyn with respect to it. It must be painful in the extreme to such a man to witness the wreck and ruin of the temple which he has laboured so hard to rear ; to know that after a lifetime of honest, untiring work, the end is very much like the beginning—that the worst vices of savagery are still rampant—and that the antagonism of the two races is far more bitter at the present time than it has ever been before. Bishop Selwyn is naturally loath to acknow-

ledge the gigantic failure. In the course of his interesting speech at the Melanesian Mission meeting, held a month ago in Auckland, he could not help referring to this subject; and the manner of this reference was in itself an admission of the little satisfaction he felt in it. Evidently he was struggling within himself when he alluded to one who 'had watched the native race from the time when the work of Christianity was first commenced, had watched it grow and prosper, and now saw it, unfortunately, apparently in a state of decay, and who still hoped, in the midst of all this trial and discouragement, that the native church would again be restored to its former prosperous state, and come out from the trial even more pure and firmly established than ever.' No little enthusiasm would be required to cherish such a hope as this, when from all quarters comes the most distinct and unequivocal testimony that the native race is sinking into degradation, everywhere exhibiting signs of decay in their social as well as their spiritual existence."

Great efforts have also been made to provide schools for the Maories, and the results are far from encouraging. Mr Barston says: "At the Church Mission School recently established at Waimate, when a demand of one pound a year from the parents of the younger boys was made, for the purpose of providing suitable clothing, although the children were well fed, taught, and clothed, every boy (some thirty or forty) was withdrawn from the school. I am afraid that even education has its disadvantages as well as its blessings; the girls educated at the old Waimate Mission School, though they even now continue to be cleaner and tidier than their untaught sisters, have not proved more virtuous. Several of the boys brought

up at St John's College, have distinguished themselves by taking a prominent part on the rebel side in the late war, thus displaying their gratitude for our exertions on their behalf." Mr Cooper of Napier, says: "Education is hardly thought of, and, with rare exceptions, the children are growing up unable to read and write, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to their parents, who, almost without exception, can read, write, and cipher with fluency." Mr Williams of Waimate, says: "No schools are at the present time in existence in this district. The consequence is that the rising generation is growing up in utter ignorance." Mr Wardell of Wairarapa, says: "Owing to the apathy and indifference of parents, very few children attended the school at Papawai, and it is now closed."

The superstition called *Hauhauism* has been referred to, but it is very difficult to know what it really is. The Maori is marvellously superstitious. He holds by witchcraft, and trembles before a diviner. All his thoughts are dark and gloomy. While Christianity has so far in days past had a place in his imagination, the wildest notions have frequently mingled with the soberest truth. During one war, a superstition known as *Papahurihia* was advocated at Hokianga and Mangonui; and during another war, the rites called *Atua wera* were in favour. What the latter were we know not; but we are told that the former was a species of serpent-worship, its author being a sharp-witted ventriloquist, who could provide responses from afar for all who consulted him. As in all the great struggles of the past some leading man has pretended to a divine mission and revelation, *Hauhauism* surprised no one. It cropped out as a

new variety of Maori fanaticism, intended to alienate and irritate, to unite and stimulate, the discontented. It showed itself early during the present disturbances. When Captain Lloyd was killed at Taranaki, his head was preserved, Maori fashion, and this dried mummy was declared by Te Ua, the founder of the sect, to be the medium by which the *Hauhau* god made known his will. The delusion has varied in its developments. Sometimes its votaries danced round a pole, singing and yelling, and this in an unknown tongue, which appeared to consist chiefly of English words *Maorified*. Judaism, Christianity, and old superstitions, have been all mixed together. Again, it cropped out in brutal murder, hideous mutilations, and cannibalism. Amidst all this confusion, prayer would be offered to Jehovah, and mention made of the Trinity. Te Ua, we are told, is dead ; we are also told that, in dying, he declared his doctrine to be a falsehood, and prayed his dupes to go back to Christianity ; but, while there is little doubt that Hauhauism will vanish soon, there seems almost as little doubt, that faith in Christ, so far as this ever existed, is driven from its place—scepticism, confusion, and ferocity having uprooted it.

Looking at all these circumstances then, we form no favourable view either of the Maori as a man, or of the effects of Christianity upon him. No one doubts that in individual instances good has been done ; the facts remain, however, that practically the Christianity of the race has been all but valueless ; that the race is now more wicked than ever ; that their habits are so evil, that they are rapidly dying out ; that, valueless as the professed Christianity of the past has proved, even this is to a

vast extent given up, a debasing superstition being preferred before it; that, in fine, the Maori as a man is a failure, and the attempt to Christianise him, a failure also.

We have dwelt at a great length on the social, physical, moral, and religious state of the remnant of the Maori race, because they are the noblest of savages; because we have very extensive, accurate, and dispassionate information respecting them; and because nowhere else, amongst savage races, has Christianity been more fully declared or more fully accepted. Looking at them physically and religiously, we have facts before us peculiarly fitted to direct our missionary operations in coming days, and to correct, not the zeal of Christian men, but the estimates they may form of the success of missions in circumstances not dissimilar.





CHAPTER V.

NEW HEBRIDES AND LOYALTY ISLANDS.

THE New Hebrides are from twenty to thirty in number, volcanic in their origin, having mountains three thousand feet high, and displaying scenery ever varied and ever lovely. The climate is debilitating to Europeans, and fever and ague are very prevalent even among the aborigines. Ninety and more years have passed since these islands were known in Europe, but it was not until 1839 that Christianity was taken to them. In 1842, two admirable men landed at Tanna, but had speedily to flee for their lives. In 1848, Mr Geddie, from Nova Scotia, landed on Aneityum, where he has remained ever since. Then came others, and still others; but one has been murdered and some have died, so that the effective staff of Europeans has not been large. Still, all has been done, we believe, that men could do. Six islands have been occupied; the Scriptures have been translated; primers have been drawn up, and hymn-books circulated; and the sum is

that there are between two and three thousand converts on the group. Especially has the evangelisation been complete on Aneityum. "The whole population," says the Rev. J. Copeland, a very judicious man, "amounting to two thousand one hundred, is professedly Christian. They have given up their idols and now worship God. Heathen badges, such as long hair, paint, and ornaments, have been laid aside. Heathen practices, such as feasting, dancing, wearing no clothes, and those inflicted on the sick, the old, the insane, the women, widows, and strangers, have been abandoned. They no longer carry arms, and several tribes, formerly hostile, engage in war no more. Husbands and wives can now occupy the same end of a building and eat together, and their superstitions about disease, rain-making, and *tabu*, have been uprooted. Polygamy no longer exists, and marriages are publicly solemnised. There are fifty schools attended by eighty per cent., and nine churches attended by ninety per cent., of the population. All, except the old and very young, can read, and many can write and cipher. Family worship is generally observed, and there are five hundred church members. The New Testament has been printed, with several books of the Old, and other minor publications. Several Aneityumese act as teachers on the heathen islands.

"In six years they have exported 10,000 lbs. of arrow-root, and during the last two years, 5000 lbs. of cotton. Life and property are as secure as in this country. Having lived there, I can speak from experience." Mr Copeland published his admirable paper in New Zealand.

He then goes on with Christian honesty to say :
 "But let me not mislead by statements such as these.

Understand me, I do not say that these 2500 (the number of converts now alive on the group) are all changed in heart. This is more than takes place in the most favoured lands. Nor do I say that Christianity among them is as fully developed and as firmly consolidated as among British Christians; but this I do say, that a great outward change has taken place *on them all*, and that not a few, by their consistent lives, show that a change of heart has taken place as well. The contrast between these converts and their heathen brethren is most marked, and requires to be seen to be appreciated."

It seems evident that a solid work has been done here, and the difficulties have been great. Apart from sickness, and more than common risk from violence, the diversities of speech appear to be most perplexing. The same writer says: "Every island has its own language, and on several there are two dialects. Not only are the names for the same objects different, but even the construction of all the languages is not the same. . . . The following are the numerals on—

<i>Aneityum.</i>	<i>Tanna.</i>	<i>Eromanga.</i>	<i>Fate.</i>
1. Ethi.	Riti.	Sai.	Skei.
2. Ero.	Kuru.	Duru.	Inru.
3. Eseij.	Kahar.	Disil.	Toal.
4. Emadowan.	Kifa.	Mindivat.	Pad.
5. Ikman.	Kirirum.	Sukrim.	Lim.

As there is such a diversity in the numerals, we need not wonder that the vocabularies bear scarcely any resemblance."

Mr Inglis, another New Hebrides Missionary; says: "The curse of Babel has fallen heavily on this group.

On each of the six islands on which our missionaries are labouring, a different language is spoken, requiring a separate translation of the Scriptures. To meet the wants of the thirty thousand natives occupying the southern half of this group, it will require as many translations of the Bible as you require for the thirty millions inhabiting the whole of the British Islands from Jersey and Guernsey to *Ultima Thule*, or the Shetlands."

The people of the New Hebrides are Papuans, like those of New Guinea, New Caledonia, and the more westerly portions of Polynesia ; and we are informed by Mr Copeland, that the civilisation now existing is lower than that of a bygone age. He tells us that there is less energy among the present peoples, than once was exhibited in these mysterious lands. In support of this view, he states that remains of ancient aqueducts exist, which the present inhabitants know nothing of, and could not construct.

The population of the entire group is estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand, and they are wasting away. The white man, as yet, has not largely affected them ; but "many children die in infancy, families are not large, and as a race, they are not long lived. Owing to certain practices, there are more men than women." Decay belongs to this people, and their disappearance is as sure as their present existence.

Of the Loyalty Islands, very little was known till the year 1827, when they were surveyed by M. D'Urville. Nor was it until the year 1841 that any Christian preacher visited them. In that year, two Samoan teachers were landed at Maré, an island whose circum-

ference is estimated at between sixty and eighty miles, with a population, at that date, of seven or eight thousand. These two gentle Samoans encountered great difficulties and dangers, but they laboured on until the year 1849, when it became apparent that a change was working among the people. Three years later, Messrs Murray and Sunderland visited the island, and, to their delight, found a church erected, seventy-two feet long by twenty-four feet wide, and also a Sabbath-school. They found also some two hundred communicants connected with the church, a Bible class, and all the accompaniments of a successful evangelistic effort. At that date, however, one half of the island was still heathen. One year passed, and then two ministers went again to Maré, finding this time, in addition to the organisations and buildings just named, a handsome residence erected for a European missionary, whenever such might arrive. All this had been effected by the Samoans. In 1854, two missionaries arrived from England, and since they landed still further progress has been made.

In the midst of all this, Maré is becoming depopulated. The people, who numbered in 1854 nearly eight thousand, had fallen in 1868 to five thousand, as is stated in a letter written during that year by the missionary, the Rev. J. Jones. From the same communication it appears that foreign diseases and heathen practices are working as usual. The fact that sandal-wood traders have been among them accounts for the former; their savage memories and tastes account for the latter. At the same time there is not on Maré, as there is in the Samoan and Tonga groups, any im-

mediate likelihood of an extensive white immigration, since the island has no proper harbours, and the water is so brackish as to be disagreeable to all save those who know no other. The mere touch of the white man seems enough.

Lifu is the chief island of this cluster. It is believed to be from eighty to one hundred miles in circumference, and is thirty-five miles from Maré and sixty from the French colony of New Caledonia. Its inhabitants are much like those of Maré, but the language is different; and before the settlement of the missionary, they were very filthy cannibals. But here, as at Maré, Christianity was introduced by Polynesian teachers in 1842, and of a population numbering in 1868 some seven thousand, six thousand are professedly Protestants. From a speech made by the Rev. S. Macfarlane in Sydney, New South Wales, in 1868, it appears that Bishop Paterson had, before Mr Macfarlane went to Lifu, translated the Gospel of St Mark into the language of the land, and that since then, the latter gentleman had translated the remainder of the New Testament, a hymn-book, and a school-book. We have no positive information as to the religious condition of these Lifu Protestants. We can only accept Mr Macfarlane's statement in the speech referred to—"Of course the people were to some extent degraded, but they were professed Christians." The weary fact remains, nevertheless, that we have no hope that all this labour can be permanently useful in Lifu, any more than in Maré. The extinction of the race is only, as in other quarters, a question of time.



CHAPTER VI.

THE FEEJEEES.

SO long ago as the year 1643, this group was seen by Europeans. While only eighty of islands are inhabited, these are said to number not fewer than 225. One island is ninety miles long and fifty miles wide, and another is one hundred miles long and twenty-five miles wide. The climate is good, the soil is fertile, and Europeans, or Americans, are settling down rapidly, the island of Ovaulau being their principal location. In the month of December 1867 the Feejees contained a British or half-caste British population numbering 649, and an American or half-caste American population numbering 139, which, together with 43 Europeans, not British, made a foreign and white population amounting to 831. So many persons, accustomed to a regular government, are naturally anxious to have something of the kind in their new home, and there is no doubt that, in some way or other, they will before long effect their purpose. The

Imperial Government, in its present antipathy to colonies, will probably decline to act ; the Australians cannot well act without imperial sanction ; and America, which is said to have a claim against the Feejeeans for forty-five thousand dollars, may soon hoist her flag within a few days' sail of Sydney, and lay the foundation of a republic in the South Seas. Meantime, Feejeean commerce expands surely and rapidly.

For years the Wesleyans have laboured hard in this once, ferocious island-world, and they give in their reports lengthy statements of results. In 1868, they had in the Feejeean circuit twelve European missionaries and forty-five native missionaries, a large body of catechists, class leaders, and local preachers, with over seventeen thousand accredited members of their communion.

Thus much for numbers. The missionaries themselves shall speak of the value of Feejeean Christianity. In Rewa, the missionary says, "There are but few who live, and multitudes who are dead in trespasses and sins." Of the Bua circuit, the missionary says, "There are many things to discourage ; and it would not be a difficult thing to write a report full of discouragements." In the Bua circuit, the missionary writes of a certain section : "Nominally Christian, but really scarcely more than heathen, the people continue simply to hear our preachers. . . . The increase in the numbers is common to all the sections, for in none do we report decrease ; yet we are bound to say that the conditions of the various sections are by no means equally good. . . . We will notice the towns of Bua and Tiliva, in which, considering the amount of labour bestowed on

them, we might fairly look for at least a healthy state of the work, instead of which, we fear the state of religion in these towns is but sickly." In the Cakaudrovi report, which is a hopeful one, the missionary says: "Many of those whom we number as hearers of the Word, including many who are enrolled as members, are resting content with the forms of religion, being destitute of its power." In the La Kemba circuit, the missionary writes: "Though our numbers may not actually be lessened, and though we take all pains to prevent improper persons from entering society, yet are we compelled to acknowledge that many have a name among us who, we fear, know little or nothing of the power of true religion." Of the Ono section of this circuit, the report says, "Here, the wild and ungovernable conduct of the young men has been a serious hindrance to the work; but the chiefs have taken them sternly to task, with the happiest effects, outwardly at least. There is, however, room for much improvement." Of another section, it is said, "We trust that some improvement is taking place in this part of our circuit, but fear to speak too hopefully, inasmuch as there are many drawbacks, not the least of which is the deep-rooted belief in witchcraft, which, in more than one instance, has created much bad feeling, and has even led to murder, the chief justifying the murder on the ground that it is no crime to kill a wizard." Of the Vanua Balavu district, it is said: "Throughout the whole circuit much remains to be done before anything approaching to a satisfactory state of things can be reported. The old evil spirit of heathenism is by no means yet cast out. Abominable heathen customs are still commonly

practised, many heathen superstitions are still firmly held, and instances have come under our notice of offerings made to the heathen gods. It still takes but a little spark to kindle a flame of murderous and jealous feeling. Mutual jealousies and hatreds among the chiefs are continually causing us great anxiety. Strict regard for truth is a rare virtue ; filthy conversation is hardly considered a fault ; and immorality prevails to a frightful extent."

We shall now give the impressions made by Feejeean Christianity upon a recent and a disinterested visitor. In 1868, H.M.S. *Brisk* visited the group, and her chaplain, the Rev. J. B. Smythe, says : "I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity of recording my high appreciation of the great and good work which the missionaries are accomplishing in Feejee ; and which must be apparent to every unprejudiced and Christian man visiting these islands. It is indeed a rare pleasure to attend the native services ; to see large and flourishing congregations imbued with the spirit of devotion and godly reverence ; to hear heartfelt praise to God ; to observe their zeal in prayer, and the love of their Bibles. Never was I so much impressed with the power of Divine truth as when I stood in the midst of a native congregation at Bua, of over seven hundred (the king seated in a dignified manner in an arm-chair, with his large Bible before him), the queen (the finest specimen as regards flesh and bones of the "human form divine" that I ever saw) in a conspicuous place among the women, and heard the gospel preached by a native minister, and the accents of their praise ascending up on high like the voice of many waters. The church is a large native building, capable

of holding one thousand persons, and displays great ingenuity in its style of architecture. It is situated within a few yards of the ruins of an old heathen temple, where human sacrifices were wont to be offered to their gods, previous to their being cooked and eaten. The ovens which were used for this revolting purpose of cooking the victims are still to be seen filled with earth and quite close to the church. A large tree overhangs them, the trunk of which is covered with notches representing the number cooked. I found it impossible to count these, owing to the irregular order and antiquity of the early entries. I confess that my soul was stirred within me as I quietly surveyed the dark faces of the worshippers in a church raised by their own hands to the honour of the true God, their eyes eagerly resting on the preacher, and the scripture references sought out with facility. This was not a special gathering, for I attended native services in several places, and generally addressed the congregations through the missionaries, and am thoroughly convinced of the magnitude and reality of the good work of God in Feejee. Who cannot feel as I did, when he reflects on the revolting customs cherished for ages, and the barbarous practices of those once benighted savages, who a few years ago were accustomed to feed upon each other's bodies as large fishes do upon the small ones! Who cannot but admire the men whose indefatigable labours brought about this change—a change so great and attended with so much difficulty, that only great energy and perseverance, tempered with wisdom, could have effected it! I was well repaid for my visit to the Richmond Native Institution on the Island of Kandavu. The clean and airy school-room,

the tidy little houses for the students, and the beautiful order in which the grounds are kept, delight the eye of the visitor. When we entered the institution, a well-defined air of satisfaction gleamed in the faces of forty-five fine-looking young men; and as we proceeded to ascertain their mental attainments, slates and paper were quickly placed before them, and the examination passed off in a manner alike creditable to themselves and to their energetic teacher. The writing of some especially attracted my attention, it being as good as any I have ever seen, and the course of study is wisely selected. This institution is clearly the hope of Feejee, for native agents must be largely employed; therefore a constant number of not less than one hundred should be kept under instruction, and, although Mr Nettleton appears to be a host in himself, an assistant is necessary. Mrs Nettleton devotes much of her time to the wives of the married students, in storing their minds with useful information and in-door civilisation. The call for help is so great, that many of the poor fellows have to leave before their course of study is completed, and essay to teach others ere they are fully taught themselves. The present number of missionaries should be at least trebled, and even then vast fields for labour will remain unoccupied; for, consider a country equal in extent to that of Wales, and populated with about two hundred thousand souls, without roads or conveyances, save the everlasting boat, which is anything but a comfortable means of travelling when it is blowing hard, especially for those who feel that their swimming powers are not to be depended upon."

Another writer from Ovaulau, dating May 27, 1868,

says : "The missionaries have done and are doing great good throughout the islands, and there is scarcely an island in the group, if we except the centre of the large island, where one might not go in perfect security."

The permanence of the race for whom so much has been done, or attempted, shall now be considered. Mr Thurston, the British Consul in 1867, estimated the population at one hundred thousand. More generally, we find it estimated at two hundred thousand. In all likelihood, the truth lies between these extremes ; but whatever this may be, all men agree in declaring that the Feejeeans are rapidly disappearing. In 1867, Mr Thurston obtained accurate accounts of the births and deaths in three different towns. In Tai, a town in Ovaulau, the island containing the great harbour of the group as well as the mass of the white settlers, forty-one persons died. Of the seven children born there during that year, all died. There was thus an unqualified decline. In Sosi, where there is but one resident European family, there were seven births, four of the infants died, and twenty-three older persons. Ba is a town on the large island Viti Levu, on which no European resides, and at Ba not one child was born in 1867, and sixty persons died. In these three localities, therefore, there were one hundred and twenty-eight deaths against fourteen births. Mr Thurston says, "A very few years ago, the island of Ovaulau could send out three thousand fighting men; now, it could only muster five hundred by including the lads and old men. This is not a solitary example: the ruined and deserted villages throughout the country bear testimony to the disappearance of the race." One of the Wesleyan missionaries, speaking of the island of

Rotumah, says : " It will be cause of sorrow to all who take an interest in this island, to know that the population, already under three thousand, is still steadily on the decrease. We infer this from the returns of births and deaths for several months. There can be no doubt, that within the last thirty years the decrease has been very great. The eagerness, amounting almost to a mania, of the young men to leave the island in any passing vessel, may be one cause. Great numbers of women, can, on this account, never be married. Reliable accounts state that, within the memory of the present generation, upwards of *seven hundred* men, mostly young, or in the very prime of life, have left the island and have not returned. Parents speak of their sons, and sisters of their brothers, of whom they have not heard since the day they embarked, often on some passing whaler, years ago. Diseases, brought on by neglect, have laid hundreds prematurely in their graves. We would hope that, with the establishment of Christianity, things will take a more encouraging turn ; otherwise, a few years hence, and the fate of many an interesting race will have been repeated here." This extract is taken from the report for 1867. Of Kindavu, the same publication say that the number of church members is decreasing, one cause of which is said to be an " unusually great " mortality. Christianity has not arrested this dying out. It is also said that at Kindavu there had been so violent a hurricane that, through the ruin of plantations and houses, the people were in " a most distressed condition." Moreover, petty wars are for ever in progress.

A writer in the *Otago Daily Times*, dating his com-

munication from Levuka, 23d July 1868, says: "I can tell you I would never wish to live in a better place than Feejee. The climate is splendid. True, it is rather hot; but that is only in the middle of the day. I have been now travelling among the natives for the last month, and I enjoyed myself very well, although they were burning and killing each other not more than fifteen or twenty miles from where we were. Things are rather unsettled in reference to the natives, as King Thakombau has been defeated; so that makes the mountain-tribes very independent and saucy. But, in about a month, all the petty chiefs and the king are going to collect their men from round the coast, and are determined to go right up the mountains, and drive them out. All the fighting is confined to one island, so the religious natives will get on better this time. One party will go into the mountains at one side, and another party at the other, so there will be warm work there in a short time. The 'devils'—that is what the mountaineers are called—are friendly enough to the white settlers; it is the missionaries and native teachers that they try to kill and eat. There are cannibals in the mountains yet."

We have spoken of foreigners settling in Ovaulau. The reality of an active colonisation appears from the fact that in 1868 the town of Levuka had six stores, five hotels, one Wesleyan church, a reading-room, British and American consular offices, proposals for a newspaper, and demands for a watchmaker, and a good medical man. Cotton, sugar, cocoa-nut oil, with tropical or semi-tropical fruits, are the products raised for exportation. But shops and hotels are not the only proofs that civilisation is coming in on the Feejees. In July

1868, one writer says, "The event that has created great interest in Levuka during the past month, has been the opening of the Literary Institute. This pretty little building is placed on a knoll commanding both sea and land views, and is by far the pleasantest place on the island. On the opening night there were ninety-five persons present, and all appeared delighted with the intellectual repast provided. The missionaries, consul, and several distinguished notabilities took part, and on a subsequent evening Commodore Lambert, of the *Challenger*, sent his band on shore; and the glee singers of H.M.S. *Brisk* contributed largely to the enjoyment of the night."

A few more years, and the white man with his plantations, his steam-engines, his ships, his laws, and his literature, will look curiously on these islands, and speak of their old tenants as extinct.





CHAPTER VII.

SAMOA AND THE HERVEY ISLANDS.

SINCE the year 1830, the Samoan group has had missionaries labouring assiduously, connected either with the London Missionary Society, or with the Wesleyan Conference, and the Samoan is now spoken of as added to the family of Christian nations. In 1863, it was stated by Mr Murray, that heathenism was extinct, and that the whole group, consisting of eight islands, had embraced Christianity. Mr Murray also states that heathen usages are disappearing with heathen opinions.

These islands are very fertile and the people are said to be as indolent as the Tahitians. Williams says: "The Tahitian and the light-hearted Samoan can work or play, rove abroad or stay at home, dance or sleep, with the assurance that the beautiful grove of bread-trees, in which his cottage is embowered, will afford him an abundant supply, and if these should prove insufficient, that the mountains abound with bananas, plantains,

and other esculents, more than enough to supply the deficiency." Coffee, sugar, and cotton can be abundantly grown; but so averse are the people to labour, that nothing can be done without importing workmen from other quarters.

Mr Williams reckoned the population at 150,000, but this, as in many such attempts at enumeration, was mere guess-work. Mr Murray speaks of two hundred villages, and 34,000 inhabitants, and Dr Turner, who has lived among this people for more than thirty years, says in a letter, dated May 29, 1868, that when they were counted "head by head in 1843, we could only make out 33,900," corroborating the statement of Mr Murray.

As in other localities, so here—the Samoans have had many wars. It appears, however, that they have been less scourged by hooping-cough, small-pox, and intemperance than some others, and Dr Turner states, in the letter already quoted, that, during the last ten years, the population have actually increased by about one thousand. It is his opinion that, if left alone and not colonised, they would, under the influence of Christianity, multiply and be permanent. In this opinion Mr Nesbit, another missionary of long experience, agrees. Both these authorities state that the proportions of the sexes vary in different places; and Dr Turner says that, in some localities, there are more men than women. The number of children in families appears to range between three and five, and the number of early deaths is great.

A writer in the Wesleyan Missionary Report for 1867, gives us a candid statement of his opinions respecting

the character of their Christianity, and its influence upon their actions. He says :—

“ With respect to the spiritual state of those meeting in class, all profess to have a desire to be saved from their sins, but there are many things in which their experience is lamentably below what, as Methodists, we expect to meet with. In the majority the moral sense seems to be more than usually blunted, and they have very low views of God’s character and man’s duty. We deplore this state of things, but feel that it is not by might, or by power, but by the Spirit of the living God, that the slumbering and hardened conscience is to be restored. To this moral want we attribute the fact that among the many whom we have received on trial, we have met with few who seem to realise the infinite demerit of sin. Confession of sin, in a general sense, is made ; but we cannot recall to mind one case in which such deep and pungent conviction of, sorrow for, and hatred to, sin has existed, as we often witness in connection with our work in other lands. Another fact, illustrative of the imperfect experience of those in connection with us, is that but a very small minority bear testimony to the possession of the faith that bringeth salvation. The majority of our members exercise but a general faith, and live in the hope of being saved through the mercy of God. Justification through faith, adoption, regeneration, the direct witness of the Spirit, conscious peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, are privileges to which few refer in their experience. And further, amongst the few who evidently do enjoy religion, we have not met with a single individual who has professed to be in possession of the blessing of entire sanctification. The destruc-

tion of the power and rule of sin in believers is no part of Samoan faith. In this respect we feel that we are called to occupy the same position here as in other lands. We will not lower the standard, but will endeavour to spread scriptural holiness through the land. We ask the prayers of the churches at home, that this valley of dry bones may live. We are thankful that the Conference has sent us a colleague for the Manono station, but our great want is the reviving influence of gospel grace. May we experience Pentecostal showers ! ”

Another writer in the same report, alluding to a recent war, says, “ On the whole we feel that amidst much to discourage, we have abundant cause for gratitude for the past and hope for the future. We have not made as much progress as we could wish, and our present position here is not an enviable one, but we trust soon to have our people round us again, with hearts subdued and softened by the trials through which they have passed. We bless God for the proofs we have that He is with us, and is blessing our labours ; but whilst we rejoice over the small tokens of success that we have had, we feel that this will not suffice.”

On the other hand, we are informed by the Rev. H. Nesbit that ten thousand copies of the Bible have been bought by this people ; that a native college is almost supported by the islanders themselves, which is preparing eight hundred and fifty-eight persons for the Christian ministry ; that thirteen hundred pounds have been subscribed by these people for the support of the London Missionary Society ; that Samoa alone raises as much money for missions as New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, all together ; that, not contented with

maintaining Christianity among themselves, the Samoans have sent native teachers to such groups as the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides.

Dr Turner speaks of their continuing and increasing, *if not colonised*; but colonising goes on apace, and we see nothing in the Samoan race to lead us to suppose that their fate can materially differ from that of others in like circumstances, and this notwithstanding their very slight increase of one thousand in ten years. We give a letter taken from the Sydney *Morning Herald* of January 1868, and dated at Apia, Samoa, which will tell better than we can the probable future of these islands and islanders:—"A stranger, on entering the harbour of Apia, is struck with the number of extensive buildings reaching down to the beach; and if at any time he has visited a dockyard town, he will immediately come to the conclusion that ship-building on an extensive scale is being carried on under the enormous sheds, of various colours and sizes, which go to fill up the large piece of land which Messrs Goddefroy on one side have secured, and Mr Macfarlane on the other. But we are soon undeceived in our surmises by Mr Pilot Hamilton, who, after receiving instructions to take the ship to anchor, tells us that the sheds we have mistaken for ship-building premises are large stores, in which the operation of ginning and cleaning cotton is being carried on, and the smoke issuing from several steam-engines and smoke-stacks confirms what he says. Fairly at anchor, we are boarded on all sides by people from the shore, all anxious to know who the stranger is. These satisfied, we hie to the consulate, there to deposit our papers with Mr J. C. Williams, H.B.M. Consul, and from him we find the

harbour of Apia is perfectly free, the only charge whatever being pilotage, which, for a schooner, is ten dollars in and out. We find vast improvements everywhere; neat buildings erected by the natives, and by the Europeans—magnificent houses, compared with what they were some few years since. The bay looks charmingly gay, for in addition to the consular flag which waves in the breeze, several private ones are flaunting their gay colours to the usual trade wind. Having business at Mataautu we cross the river, but not by a bridge. A native stands in readiness to convey us over for a small *douceur*, a piece of tobacco being the usual payment; but we were glad to find that funds had been collected to erect a suspension bridge, and that the work was actually in hand. This is much needed, and will be a convenience to all, both foreign and native. Arrived at Mr Macfarlane's, our attention is arrested by the noise of the steam-engine, and, on inspecting the work done by it, we find it busily engaged ginning cotton and sawing wood, and a whole posse of natives packing the cotton as it is cleaned. The horse, when first landed at Samoa, surprised the natives more than anything they had previously seen, and they called it the *solifenna*, or the pig that flew over the land; but the steam-engine puzzles them—they have named it the *devolo*, or the devil, and the natives, strangers to the place, look on with wonder and admiration, many of them coming from great distances to see it. Cotton-planting is general everywhere, and the past season has been a propitious one for the gathering of the crop; the export this year will attain the dimensions of two thousand bales, and annually a large increase will be looked for; land clearing goes on

briskly, even with the present paucity of labour, and the Messrs Goddefroy will have, by March next, one thousand acres under cotton crop—others will have a proportionate quantity; but these gentlemen, from their large capital, take the lead in these matters. Land is easily obtained from the natives, a great change having come over them in this respect. Where, some ten years since, the natives had land they would not part with, they will now sell it freely—the price generally being about one dollar per acre; but it must be borne in mind it is generally thickly timbered, and as labour is exceedingly scarce, it takes time to get it under cotton. There is no doubt, the great drawback to Samoa not advancing more rapidly is the independence of the natives; all labour has to be done by natives from neighbouring islands—principally Savage Island—of whom there are about five hundred at the Navigators. Twice as many more would find immediate employment, as they are natives that work well and moderately cheap—five shillings per month. And yet the Samoans are an improving people; they are beginning to dress in articles of European manufacture; and their houses, instead of as formerly furnished with a simple mat, have now excellent trunks, and other useful things of domestic economy. To their credit be it spoken, we only saw one case of drunkenness during our stay of three weeks, and that on a fête-day on the nomination of the son of old Malietoa as Tupu Samoa. This is saying much for the Samoans, where an unrestricted sale of spirits exists—would that other islanders could have as much said of them. The islands of late years have happily not been visited by hurricanes, so that the cocoa-nut tree has gone on producing until the

export of oil yearly reached five hundred tons ; this has been assisted by the produce of neighbouring islands, so that we take the yield of Samoa to be three hundred tons. This finds its way principally to Hamburg and the colonies, and, from the efforts being made by the principal firm in the place, will be largely added to if the cyclone does not visit them. If labour were more plentiful, other industries would follow. The sugar-cane grows better than at the Mauritius. Coffee thrives at the east end of the island ; and the tea-plant of Cashmere would find a habitat in the mountains and colder regions of the island. Oranges and limes flourish well, and of a superior quality to Raratonga, whence New Zealand draws its supplies ; the best season for shipment is January and February, and the price will probably be from seven dollars to eight dollars per one thousand packed in crates.

“ There are 296 foreign white residents in Apia, represented in their different professions and callings by the consuls, of which there are three—British, American, and Hamburg. Next follow the ministers of religion—Protestant and Catholic—of whom there are at least a dozen in the whole ; then the storekeepers, all of whom seem to do well. There is room, however, for a good tailor, shoemaker, gunmaker, watchmaker and jeweller, schoolmaster, and a qualified medical man. A smartly-managed hotel for boarders is much wanted—at present nothing worthy the name is on the island, and a competent person establishing such a hostelry would soon make a comfortable independence.

“ The Hamburg flag is as frequently met in these islands as the English. Messrs Goddefroy have a line

of vessels constantly going to and from Europe, one of which, the *Adelphi*, sailed for Cowes, just previous to the departure of the *Scotsman*, with a full cargo of oil, cotton, coffee, dried cocoa-nut, and the seed of the cotton-plant. The next vessel to load was the barque *Heleni*, to be succeeded by the *Sophia*, just arrived, all for a European market. Then to the colonies there are several well-known traders, prominent among which the *Scotsman*, *Wild Wave*, and *Ocean*, brigs, take first rank ; then there are several schooners, and, judging from their continuing in the trade, they are supposed to do well. The facilities for vessels watering at Apia are excellent ; a stream of no mean pretensions has its embouchure within a few yards of where ships anchor ; and we are happy to say that some distance up the valley it is made to do duty in driving a cotton and saw mill. There is room yet for a hundred on its banks, and the time will not be far distant when each plantation of any size will have its own water or steam power to clean its cotton. At Apia, supplies for ships are obtainable at moderate prices : firewood, pigs, vegetables, from the natives ; and at the stores, considerable stocks of barrel beef, pork, flour, and other articles at fair rates can be had. Apia takes rank as the third port of importance in the North or South Pacific—first Honolulu, next Papeite (Tahiti), but the one of which we write trenches fast on the heels of both ; indeed, as to the export of its own natural productions, it is far in advance of either. Take for example the export this past year : 2000 bales clean cotton, at £14 per bale, £28,000 ; 300 tons of cocoa-nut oil, at £23 per tun, £69,000 : total, £97,000.

“ In concluding this short notice of Apia, and the island

of Upolu, we have pleasure in saying the natural scenery is beautiful, especially the magnificent waterfall and mountain at the back of the harbour. There is a perpetual supply of fruit and flowers. The form of government, if it can be so called, is mild, wise, and favourable to foreigners; the natives are civil and peaceable; the white inhabitants are kind and hospitable; the cost of living is very moderate; there are no venomous reptiles or insects here, for even the centipede—a foreign importation—loses the fatal or dangerous character of its bite, and it becomes merely a temporary inconvenience; and finally, there seems to be none of those diseases, bilious, febrile, and others, which are generally the bane of torrid climes. The hottest months of the year are from December to March, generally accompanied by heavy rain; the other portion is truly delightful, and what otherwise would be hot, is tempered by the sea-breeze from seven in the evening until morning. A land-breeze blows by day, bringing with it all the fragrance of the orange and other delightful trees and plants.”

The Hervey group contains seven or eight islands, the largest of which is Raratonga. So long ago as 1827, missionaries connected with the London Society were settled there; and now, we understand, three Europeans are officiating in different localities, having under their care between two and three thousand communicants, and schools containing some thirteen hundred scholars.

There can be no doubt that these islanders are rapidly passing away. The Rev. C. Pitman, who settled in Raratonga fully forty years ago, states in a letter, dated April 13, 1868, that on his arrival in 1827 the population of this one island was calculated at

seven thousand, but that now it does not exceed three thousand. The Rev. C. Hardie, an old Samoan missionary, writes on the same date that not many years ago the population of the Hervey group had gone down to ten thousand, and gives his opinion that when missionaries first arrived it must have been double that number. The causes for all this are various. Mr Pitman says, "Thirty years ago or more, we had a severe visitation, which carried off by death one-seventh of the whole population. For three months, night and day, my time was wholly occupied in visiting the people and administering medicine. The whole island was laid prostrate. Hence the decrease of the population." These remarks apply to Raratonga in particular; but the same letter states that on all the islands the people have decreased, and speaks of the emigration and disappearance of the young men as one cause, and of the introduction of foreign diseases as another. The same writer thinks that the race would be permanent, nevertheless, if "persons of vicious and immoral habits from foreign lands were *prohibited* from settling and marrying amongst them." He says, however, that if these people cannot be kept away, "I cannot but prognosticate their extinction (to be) only a question of time." Speaking of this dying out, Mr Hardie says: "The causes of decrease are doubtless various. One great cause was a famine about the time the mission was commenced, occasioned by a hurricane which laid the island of Raratonga waste. The people were obliged to live upon food for a time which completely undermined their constitutions and brought on diseases which carried off many, and from which survivors suffered for half a

a generation afterwards." He also attributes much of the evil to "the lascivious habits of the people and the disproportion between the sexes, there being," he says, "some twenty years ago, about two males for every female in Raratonga, and probably the same was the case on the other islands of the group." "I think," he says further on, "that Christianity, if received to the extent of which the islanders *are capable of receiving it*, would, to a great extent, save them from wasting away ; but there are so many anti-Christian projects, practices, and influences *now* spreading among them, which prevent Christianity from having its undiverted and full influence, that these, as they continue to spread, will waste and destroy the native races. The rush of our countrymen and others, for commercial and other purposes, to the islands, and what is going on in the taking away so many of the male population to Queensland, have a most injurious and wasting influence." Again, he says, "The increasing and rapid spread of foreigners among these islands, will, I think, in time, absorb many of the native races."

Mr Hardie holds the opinion, that there "is evidence in Eastern Polynesia of a far back and higher civilisation" than any now in existence in these regions.





CHAPTER VIII.

TAHITI AND FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

A VERY special interest attaches to Tahiti. Here, in the month of March 1797, a long time ago, the *Duff* landed the first missionaries for Polynesia, and towards this group, for many years, Christian thought, action, and prayer, were peculiarly directed. Many were the difficulties and interruptions which these pioneers in South Sea missions experienced. Not until 1812, when the king Pomare professed the Christian religion, was there any sensible progress made. But, as usual in these countries, the chief led and the masses followed—their conversion, as of old, being perfected by a battle which took place in 1815, and in which the abettors of idolatry were put down. In three or four years after this date, Christianity was everywhere publicly received, and marked improvements began to be seen in the habits and the morals of the islanders. Too soon, however these happier days were followed by reaction and declension, not less manifest. The islands became known and safe; ships

more frequently visited them, and debauchery and drunkenness did their work. Still the mission held its ground ; Christianity, powerful or powerless, was the religion of the people, and idolatry belonged to the past.

In 1836, the Tahitians got into difficulties with France, which ended, as was to be looked for, by Tahiti being in 1843 proclaimed a French colony, and by its really being made one, two or three years later.

Great changes have taken place since the occupation of the island by France. To a large extent, the English missionaries have left the field. In 1867, the London Missionary Society had only one agent at Tahiti, while the Evangelical Missionary Society of Paris employed two. But the priesthood of Rome are very busy, although with comparatively limited success ; for we are assured that Protestantism has held its ground much better than might have been expected.

Mr Williams speaks of Tahiti and the Society Islands as being eight in all, and their population, about the year 1837, as between eighteen and twenty thousand. Tahiti itself was originally supposed by Mr Wilson, mate of the *Duff*, to have supported about sixteen thousand people. This calculation was made by him towards the close of the last century ; but six years afterwards the missionaries, though probably erroneously, reckoned the inhabitants at not more than six thousand. Infanticide, human sacrifices, wars, together with newly-imported diseases, stimulants, and conditions, were, however, early busy in their work of ruin.

According to the "Christian Year Book" for 1868, Tahiti now contains ten thousand inhabitants ; but we suppose this includes the French soldiery and settlers,

together with the Americans, Europeans, and Chinese now at work there. It seems impossible that there can be ten thousand of the aborigines. Every account indicates their rapid extinction. Herman Melville says, that when he was at Tahiti in 1842, there were not more than nine thousand of them, if so many. He writes : " Their prospects are hopeless ; nor can the most devoted efforts now exempt them from furnishing a marked illustration of a principle which history has always exemplified. Years ago brought to a stand, where all that is corrupt in barbarism and civilisation unite to the exclusion of the virtues of either state, like other uncivilised beings brought into contact with Europeans, they must here remain stationary until extinct. The islanders themselves are mournfully watching their doom." Melville's facts are all we care for. His theories are his own. The Rev. Titus Coan, a missionary among the Sandwich islanders for upwards of thirty years, writes on the 11th September 1868, thus : " So far as my knowledge extends, the same facts prevail in a greater or less degree among all savage tribes when first brought in contact with our unsanctified civilisation. . . . I do not think that Christianity, if received, will at once effectually arrest the decay of races, when this decay is in full force. The causes of decay are, to a great degree, physical, and physical laws will work out their results. A diseased man, or a diseased race may embrace the gospel and receive eternal life, while the physical nature goes surely to destruction." Speaking of the disappearance of the Sandwich islanders as a distinct race, Mr Coan says, " Under similar conditions, the results with all Polynesians would be similar." The Rev. J. P. Sunderland,

a well-known missionary in the Southern Pacific, writes, on the 3d of June 1868 : "The population of Tahiti is not increasing. In other groups of islands the population, in some cases, is on the increase, as in the Navigator Islands (Samoa), but as a rule, the tendency is to a slow decrease."

The Tahitians, like the Sandwich islanders, exhibit a mental, social, and moral condition which is unique. They have a competent acquaintance with religious doctrines and moral precepts, and while there is too often a sad discrepancy between the theory and the practice, still such knowledge is in itself a civilisation. But side by side with such an education, there is the fact that their indolence is insurmountable. They will not work. Able to grow all they need without toil, they hate toil, and Chinamen go there to work on the plantations. And if they will not labour in the field, they will as little work in the shop. There are few, if any, mechanics among the natives. Their old savage skill is gone, and they have acquired no skill besides. Educated largely in religious knowledge, they are lower than ever in the knowledge of the useful arts ; thus showing that a very notable mental and moral culture may walk side by side with the most marked helplessness in matters too readily deemed essential to true elevation. The Tahitians show that men may think acutely, argue clearly, apprehend the loftiest truths, and be a cultured people, while they could make nothing beyond a stone hatchet or a bone fish-hook. The helplessness of these men when their hands are needed, combined with their possession of so much book knowledge, proves the rashness of those who argue that tools and pottery are

the true tests of the progress of a people. If Tahitians have acquired head knowledge which they did not formerly possess, and have lost manual skill which formerly they did possess, may not earlier races also have possessed a high mental culture, while their manual skill was at zero?

A few extracts will show how matters are tending, and what must be the end of the graceful and luxuriant Tahitians:—On the 20th of May 1868, a railway was opened in the Punaaula district, at the foot of the mountains opposite to the village of Atiue, for the purpose of transporting the sugar-canes grown on the plantation of Messrs Guillasse and Darling to the mills of Ruet, Agaisse, and Company. The railway, planned and carried out by Monsieur Ruet, is described as being a kilomètre in length, and passes over a long marsh. The railway is, at some future period, to be extended to Taapuna Bay. There was a grand fête at the opening, at which the Imperial Commissary, M. le Comte de la Roncière, and the other leading personages, were present. The health of the Emperor and the Imperial family, of the Imperial Commissary, of M. Ruet, and of M. Guillasse, were successively proposed and enthusiastically responded to. M. le Comte de la Roncière expressed his extreme satisfaction at the evidence of progress afforded by the opening up of this new means of inter-communication in Tahiti. It does not appear, however, that the cars are to be propelled along the road by steam."

The above is an extract from the *Messenger de Taïti*, the newspaper of the place. We now give an extract from a letter, printed in the New South Wales' papers in 1869 :

"One great wonder of Tahiti is the cotton and sugar plantation of Abimanono, similar to which there is perhaps none in the world. The estate covers a space of about 7500 acres, and is worked by over 1500 men, 900 of which are Chinese. There are workshops of every kind attached to the establishment, roads and bridges have been made without help from outside, and lately a small steamer has been entirely constructed, hull and engines, on the estate ; the boilers alone were imported from France. The Chinese have formed a perfect town on the spot, with church, theatre, gaming-houses, &c. The cotton produced is of very superior quality, and altogether most satisfactory results have been obtained."

An extract from another letter published in 1869, and we have done : "From August to October the climate is most delightful, and Queen Pomare IV., who resides with her mother and her son Tamatoa V. at Riatea, selects this season to come to Papiete, where she is joined by the kings and queens of the neighbouring islands, and is thus surrounded by a court of princes. Once a week the Imperial Commissioner, Count de la Roncière, receives the principal officers and residents of the island ; but the special charm of these parties is the presence of Queen Pomare and her court. The queen and her suite are dressed with great taste in the native costumes. Their long, flowing robes give grace and ease to all their movements ; their wreaths of white flowers spread through the rooms the delicious perfume of the tiaré, and contrast well with the brilliancy of their abundant black hair. In their own dresses, the native women are charming ; but, disguised in European costume, they lose all their grace.

Princes and princesses all love cards passionately. Pomare plays écarté with a prudence and skill worthy of an old player, and does not at all object to win the money of the meanest of her subjects. The ladies talk and smoke their cigarettes, but keep their attention riveted on the cards, and their pleasure is expressed at times by loud and joyful exclamations. After a time somebody sits down to the piano, and then dancing commences and lasts during the best part of the night. These entertainments used to take place on Sunday evenings ; but Count de la Roncière, having learnt that several English residents could not attend on that day, altered it to the Thursday; the large assemblage, which breaks up at a late hour in the night, testifies to the enjoyment of all.

Three groups, we understand, are known as the Friendly Islands, and in these three, there are said to be one hundred and fifty islands, maintaining races quite equal, physically and mentally, to others already spoken of. What the population may be, we do not know, but it is, or was, very great. The Island of Tonga alone supports not fewer than nine thousand persons at this time. Here there were recently four Romish priests and three Wesleyan ministers, and the people were apportioned, according to the Wesleyan Missionary reports for 1868, ecclesiastically thus :—7000 Wesleyans and 1700 Roman Catholics. The same report states that, besides the Tonga circuit, there are the circuits of Haabbai and Vavau, with a total of six European missionaries, ten native missionaries, 115 head teachers, 797 local preachers, besides a host of Sabbath-school teachers and class readers. In addition, it is said that there are 131 chapels, 124 Sunday-schools, with

5203 scholars, besides 115 day-schools, with upwards of 5000 children. There is also said to be an attendance upon public worship of not far from 20,000 persons. There is also a college with eighty students.

It is plain that much is being done in this group ; and while the success in the Friendly Islands will equal that experienced elsewhere, we believe that the power of Christianity there will be neither greater nor less than in kindred directions.

We gather nothing from the Wesleyan Report for 1868 respecting the permanence, or otherwise, of the population. From private sources, however, we understand that there are few old people ; that many die about the age of thirty-five from consumption ; that, through bad nursing, large numbers of infants die when but a few months old ; and that decay and decrease go on in all directions—Christianity, as received by this people, being likely to retard only, but not to prevent their decline. The gentleman from whom our information is derived, says, “The Polynesian races will not exist as separate races, but will amalgamate with the European races, or die out.” The white man, of course, is the chief agent, blameworthy or innocent, in this process.

The reader will best apprehend the probable fate of the Tongans in particular, and ultimately of all around them, by perusing the following letter, published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* for 1868, and dated during that year, from Mekolofa, the chief harbour of Tonga. The writer says : “When we visited the island some years since, the landing-place was over a large patch of coral, exceedingly painful at low water to walk upon, and to

boats very destructive. It is now very different—a channel of considerable width has been cut by order of the king, so that you land fairly on the roadway forming the beach. Tonga, without exception, has finer roads than any other island in the North or South Pacific, and sufficiently wide for three vehicles to pass abreast, and as level as a bowling-green. These roads traverse the whole extent of the island; and a penalty is laid on all landholders having property abutting on the road if a weed is permitted to make its appearance on them. The islanders (although the acts of King George are considered by some arbitrary) are making very rapid strides to obtain a place in the scale of civilised peoples. I must confess, in making the comparison of a few years since and to-day, the change for the better is very manifest. The king has an inclosure filled with buildings of no mean pretensions; his chief residence will vie with many of our best cottage residences, and the interior is furnished with the most costly European furniture. Sideboards display cut-glass and silver in profusion; and we are proud to say His Majesty's cellar is well stocked with the best wine. The king's power is absolute. 'He can make, and he destroy.' A council is nominally held to confirm the laws which His Majesty and secretary have made, not one of the herd daring to make an observation likely to interfere with His Majesty's wishes. King George is assisted in all he does by an intelligent adviser, Mr David Moss, who is better known by his native appellation, 'Inpa Hepai;' and perhaps it is well it is so, otherwise laws would be framed containing such obnoxious and impossible clauses that the white residents could not possibly live under them. As it is, they are

pretty well taxed. They have business licenses to pay, an annual capitation tax of 25 dollars for their servants, and a duty on spirits of two dollars per gallon. To the latter no objection ought to be raised. Many foreigners are finding their way to George Town, to get land to plant cotton; others, sugar and coffee. There was a large trade carried on some time since in cocoa-nut oil; but this is all absorbed by the king, who has vessels running to and from the colonies, and others cruising, collecting in the adjacent islands. In the land office there were no less than eighty leases waiting the king's signature. Most of these were for ninety-nine years; and varied in price, some at one shilling, and, in localities a little nearer the port of shipment, one shilling and six-pence per acre.

"The great drawback at Tonga as well as at Samoa is the want of labour. The indigenes will not work continuously: perhaps a day or two a month is all their lordships feel inclined to have the sweat passing over their brow, so that any one calculating on employing Tonga labour will be disappointed. The land is easily cleared—not a stone to be found; and a ploughman can make his furrow without the plough coming in contact with a stump. As a proof of what can be done, a Mr Smith and his family from Canterbury, N.Z., consisting of six available hands, will clear and plant with cotton one hundred and twenty acres, and by next April have the first crop; and they only arrived at Tonga in the last days of November. The white residents, however, talk of chartering a vessel to visit Savage Island, and obtain natives thence; there is room for at least three hundred when the next cotton crop is ready. Of white population

there are at present only forty-nine, and some of these have been there thirty and forty years ; so that is some proof of the salubrity and healthy nature of the climate. The thermometer, too, seldom ranges over 80°, and nine months of the year this is tempered by a steady trade-wind. Tonga possesses people of commercial spirit. Mr Winter has imported one of P. N. Russell and Co.'s steam-engines for the purpose of ginning cotton, and Mr Hartshorn has erected a capital wind-mill for the same object. Horses, drays, and buggies are to be found in Tonga ; and the king has gone to considerable expense in importing entire stock from Sydney, the *Scotsman* landing one on the present voyage.

“His Majesty's income is from £8000 to £10,000 per annum ; he exports about two hundred tuns of cocoa-nut oil annually ; and, in addition, has a poll-tax of one dollar from each native in the Friendly group. The island produces the usual vegetables, such as yams, taro, &c., &c. ; and, in addition, a splendid coffee-berry, and the long-jointed sugar-cane. Oranges and limes in the month of February are abundant. Fish is very scarce ; pearl shells are found, but the pearls they contain are not of good lustre. A few minerals have been picked up, and the natives make use of a singular saponaceous earth instead of soap in the locality where it is discovered. Black sand (tin ore) is found, and an old Ovens miner whom we met here, told us it was exactly similar to that at the famed Woolshed in Reid's Creek, Victoria.

“In concluding these few remarks on Tonga, the favourable opinion formed of the island must be subject to some drawbacks. The place is badly supplied with water ; there is not a rivulet in the whole group of the Friendly

Islands, except at one place I shall mention directly. All are dependent on water caught in tanks or casks. The wells are tidal, and consequently brackish ; and thus one of the greatest blessings in life—pure water—is in poor supply. This is wisely ordered, otherwise in such places the rightful owners of the soil would be crowded out by an influx of adventurers from less-favoured localities. About twenty miles from Tonga is Eoa, an island on which the Messrs Parker, from New Zealand, have an excellent sheep-station ; at present they have nine thousand grazing, and the increase is larger than at any similar establishment in New Zealand or Australia. There are no native dogs to worry and destroy the flock, nor any Bathurst burr or grass-seed to deteriorate the value of the wool ; no hot winds to parch up the ground, nor shepherds required to fold the sheep ; and when the time of the shearing arrives, the natives are handy at taking off the fleece.

The arrival of the *John Wesley* from Sydney has strengthened the band of the Wesleyan Mission. There will be three stationed at Tonga, one for the Hapaes, and another for Vavau. The Roman Catholics muster strongly ; four of their ministers are also located at Tonga. Thus, in a population of nine thousand, there are no less than seven white teachers of religion ; so that the spiritual wants of the natives are well cared for. It is expected at the death of the king, a contest for supremacy will take place ; and Maaфу, a Tongan chief at Feejee, will probably be George's successor. Church and State was represented at Tonga by the two vessels, *George Vuna* and *John Wesley*."

We must state one curious fact connected with the

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CHAPTER IX.

THE SANDWICH AND MARQUESAS ISLANDS.

OF the thirteen known as the Sandwich Islands, six are small and rocky, and seven only are inhabited. In all the seven, heathenism has long ago ceased and Christianity been established. No mission of modern times has been more successful. All the Hawaiians profess Christianity. In the art of government, in education, in social habits, these islanders have attained a point of elevation beyond any other Polynesians; and all which has been done for them, has been done by the American Board of Foreign Missions, who have occupied the field since the year 1820, supporting not fewer than twenty-four missionaries, besides native teachers. Of late, a bishop of the Church of England with a few clergymen settled there; but the Christianising of the Hawaiians was completed long before his arrival. We regret to say that, so far as we can gather, these new-comers have attempted to ignore, or contemn, all that had been done by the American

missionaries. But passing from this importation of Ritualism to the really important facts before us, we find that the American Board had, in 1863, not fewer than twenty-four missionaries at work among this people; that the native churches then contributed for the support of religion more than £5000 a year; that there was then a theological school with nine students; and, finally, that there were then between seventeen and eighteen thousand communicants in the churches under their care.

We are credibly informed that there is a notable absence of such crimes as murder, robbery, and the higher class of felonies; that marriages are usually and solemnly contracted; that there is a fair attendance at the public services of the Church; that there are those who appear to be truly religious persons. There is here, however, as among all peoples recently raised from the savage state, a tendency to fall off and indulge in certain of the grosser vices, which are peculiarly in the blood. In fine, their religious life is a reality, but it is neither better nor worse than that of others who occupy a similar position in the scale of progress and religion. The American missionaries have sought to correct these coarser tendencies by ecclesiastical censure; and we are told that it is a notable fact, that the cases of discipline are suggestively numerous.

The civilisation of the Sandwich islanders is a moral and a lettered progress, rather than an advance in the manual or scientific arts. "Book knowledge," says Dr Brown, "is in advance of almost everything connected with the arts of civilised life. There are many whose knowledge of reading, writing, geography, book-keeping,

history, and theology, is quite creditable ; but a *good* mechanic or tradesman was not yet to be found among them. Many could do some mason, blacksmith, carpenter, cabinet, and shoemaker's work, but there was not one who could produce a first, or even a second rate article." At the same time, they are now living in better houses, using European furniture and clothes, rearing horses, sheep, and cows, besides doing a little at farming and gardening. Then there is their Constitution, with its Lords and Commons, its Minister for the Interior, its Minister for Foreign Relations, and its Minister for the Administration of Justice. There are also the speech from the Throne, the twenty-one guns fired when the king opens the Parliament, remarks about "the independence of our kingdom" and the "reception of the most friendly assurances." Some civilisation akin to this has been supposed, by the Duke of Argyll and others, to be a possible civilisation in the earlier ages of our race—a civilisation where the head was a long way in advance of the hands. The state of matters at Honolulu is a proof that the conditions supposable in the past are possible conditions, seeing that at this hour they exist in Polynesia.

At Hawaii, wheat grows on the hill sides, and the grazing suits all kinds of sheep and cattle ; while on the plains, coffee, cotton, sugar, tobacco, cocoa, and arrow-root grow in abundance, the market being North America. But the harbour of Honolulu is the chief source of the national prosperity. It is large enough to receive seventy or eighty ships, there being abundance of water on the bar at full tide for the largest vessels, and water enough for smaller ones at all times. Provided

with convenient wharves and jetties, vessels constantly put in for supplies of all kinds. As usual in those seas, the natives hate work ; and, as the Chinese are prohibited, coolies are spoken of as inevitable. Meantime in 1867, Hawaii exported sugar, paddy rice, wool, coffee, hides, and molasses, to the value of \$1,205,622.

Captain Cook guessed the population of the group at 400,000, and while this was too high, there are evidences of a far larger number of inhabitants than white men have ever come in contact with. Of matters as they now stand, we have accurate statistics. The first census was taken in 1832 by the missionaries, and there were then on the islands fully 130,000 people ; four years later, in 1836, there were about 108,000 ; fourteen years later, in 1850, there were 84,000 ; and sixteen years later, in 1866, there were 62,959. It is thus a fact that the Sandwich islanders have decreased from 130,000 to 63,000 (giving round numbers) in the course of one generation. In 1866, one half of the population existing in 1832 had died out for ever. In 1850, there were 3867 more men than women ; and in 1866, there were 5861 more men than women. At the same time, the Europeans and the half-castes increase rapidly. In 1868, there were supposed to be, of foreigners alone, five or six thousand in the group ; and the opinion of experienced residents is that, in thirty years more, as surely as the red man has passed away from Massachusetts, so surely will the Hawaiian have passed away from his island-home. The extinction of the race is judged to be inevitable, even by the men who have Christianised them. Licentiousness and foreign diseases of many kinds have done their work effectually, and nothing can preserve this

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people. To add to all other evils and wastings, we are informed that opium is extensively used, \$10,000 dollars having been paid in 1868 for a license to sell it, and this at a public auction.

The following extract from the *Overland* may not unfitly close these remarks :—

“The most pleasant of all amusements in Honolulu are the moonlight riding parties. The moon seems fuller and brighter there than in any other place ; and one sees very few prettier sights than twenty or thirty young people riding at full speed, with song and laugh, along one of those white macadamised roads, made white by being covered with coral dust, looking, in the subdued light, like a river of silver stretching away into the indistinct distance, and bordered with all that is lovely of verdure and luxuriant of foliage. The rides out of town are pleasant, and the views perfect. The eye fairly revels in beauty ; and if you wish to enjoy it in its fullest sense, you should ride down to the beach towards evening. To your right, the sun is setting in a blaze of glory, leaving a long golden trail behind it. The sky is flushed with crimson, purple, and gold, and all its gorgeous colouring lies reflected in the bosom of the ocean. To your left, it is raining in the valleys, while the hill-tops are touched with sunlight, and the falling drops look like a veritable shower of diamonds ; while beyond, dark masses of vapour are floating away, and a rainbow spans the earth and ocean, radiant one moment, then fading with the sunset. The purple mists steal silently down the hills ; and, as night lets down its curtain, and you go home, your soul is filled with beauty such as you have dreamed of but never hoped to realise.

"Of the young society in Honolulu, I can say little. It has periods of the wildest gaiety, when a number of naval vessels are in port, and times of dullest stagnation, when they are not. The young men are good-natured, gentlemanly, and on the whole, perhaps, are the better portion of the society. Of the young ladies, an utter absence of beauty and grace is their most striking feature; still they do not want for attention. Besides their island swains and naval admirers, they have occasionally a stray beau, of fortune and education, wandering, *à la* Lord Lovel, 'strange countries for to see, see, see,' and who remains there, perhaps, a month or two—first, from curiosity; then, enslaved by some fair Phyllis—until, tired of rustic airs and graces, after raising hopes he never meant to realise, 'he folds his tent like the Arab, and silently steals away.'

"All kinds of public amusements abound—concerts, where scranny young ladies of uncertain age, in the most juvenile toilets, warble, in raspy voices, 'I would I were a daisy,' and bouncing maidens, in stentorian tones, shout, 'Casta Diva,' or 'Lucia di quest' anima?'—and fairs, where the usual number of baby-socks are sold to old bachelors, and cigar-cases and pin-cushions are disposed of to young ones. Strawberry festivals are also sometimes held, as this most delicious fruit can always be procured. The Royal Hawaiian Theatre, patronised by occasional strolling companies, is an important centre of amusement. Its exterior is severely simple, looking not unlike a Pennsylvania barn. The inside is built in the most popular horseshoe style, with boxes on each side of the stage. There is a 'general flavour of mild decay' about the whole building, rather alarming to a

stranger, who is not at all re-assured as it vibrates to the laughter of an audience, and trembles at their plaudits. Here one sees the beauty and fashion of the city, radiant in opera-cloaks, and using opera-glasses, although the stage is not fifteen feet from any part of the house. Fancy-dress balls are also a feature of society. One may see personages of all nations so accurately disguised that the characters they represent would never be suspected. Emaciated Falstaffs and corpulent Lucifers ; native ladies, as water-nymphs and Auroras ; scraggy spinsters, as flower-girls and 'Titantias ;' 'Leicester,' with attenuated limbs in tights ; and Shakspeare, in the last style of peg-top trousers ; Diana, in full party dress ; and Minerva, ditto, dancing with Mercury, in a white linen suit of San Francisco make, and a pair of wings fastened to his feet to emphasise the character—all apparently self-satisfied and full of enjoyment.

"Honolulu is certainly a most beautiful town, and the surrounding scenery is such as artists love to paint, and poets to praise. Each house has its garden, filled with trees, flowers, and fountains—there is everything to please the eye ; and where, as in many cases, the houses are built of white coral rock, and embraced by boughs of living green, the effect is very charming, and one can easily imagine how the lives of these people drift away in calm forgetfulness that an outer world exists."

Of the Marquesan group, six islands are inhabited ; and among them American missionaries have settled and are labouring with prospects, or results, similar to those which are following, or have followed, missionary work in similar situations. But the work is very arduous. Mr Coan, of Hawaii, who visited the group in 1867, says :

"The Marquesans are among the most fierce, independent, and savage tribes of men. They have no settled and acknowledged form of government. Every man is a lord and sovereign in his own eyes. His own capricious will is his only law; and when his passions are up, and lust or vengeance burns within, he little regards the views of others, or looks to the consequences of his conduct. He sends lead or steel to the heart of the one he hates; and no hand stays him. No one reproves. All around stand aloof, and allow his burning vengeance to take effect on its object."

The process of depopulation is rapid here, as elsewhere. At Uapow, there were once one thousand people; in 1867, small-pox, and other influences, had brought them down to three hundred. Mr Coan says: "After leaving the little cluster of huts near the shore, not a living soul was seen, not a voice of man was heard throughout all the central and upper portions of the valley. The trees were burdened with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, guava, papaia, but there were not hands enough to pluck the wanton growth. Untenanted houses were in a state of rapid decay, and solitude and silence reigned in the old *heiaus* and dancing-grounds." In Nukahiva, which Melville described in his *Typee*, valleys once full of people, "and echoing with wild and savage revelry, are now nearly depopulated, and a sleepy silence broods everywhere." In this very Typee, Stewart & Co. had, in 1867, purchased land from the French authorities, on which, with the aid of imported labour, they purposed to commence the extensive growth of cotton and coffee. The small-pox raged here in 1863 with fearful virulence, and a large portion of its inhabitants died. Of forty

cases watched by one native missionary, twenty died, and where *thousands* once swarmed, only *hundreds* are now to be found. A few more years, therefore, and the beautiful Marquesas will remember their old and wild children no more ; the white man will till the ground ; his ships will anchor in the harbours ; his commerce will attract yet others of his race. Finally, his children, a mixed race perhaps, but nevertheless *his*, will speak his tongue, read his books, obey his laws, and worship his God. All will change ; and what is coming to the Marquesas is coming everywhere. Another generation will see Polynesia, north and south, occupied by a dominant race of European blood, before whom all others shall bow, and change, and disappear. We believe the facts now adduced admit of no other conclusion.





CHAPTER X.

MISTAKES.

WE have now gone over some ground : we have glanced at missionary operations from the days when the Dutch went to Ceylon down to the present day, when Christian men are busy in Feejee or the New Hebrides. We have left out of our survey India, China, Burmah, Central Africa, and some other countries, where missions have been begun and are now proceeding, or where such may be wisely attempted at any moment. These we shall speak of by and by. The matter now coming up for judgment is, the value of the work done in those quarters whose story we have specially considered. What is the issue ?

We look back at the Dutchmen as they toiled in Ceylon, Formosa, and similar latitudes, and we are told that to this day, Church of Scotland missionaries trace and utilise, in Ceylon at least, some of the surviving fruits of that effort of the men of Leyden ; but the fruits seem small for such an attempt, and an attempt so

resolute. To say why it should be so, is difficult, inevitably so; but we can trace, we believe, two errors in the manner of the Dutch Mission: they tried the plan of Francis Xavier in making converts—they did not seek so much the indoctrinating of the people, as the varnishing of them by repetitions of creeds and prayers and phrases. Now something might be alleged in defence, or praise, of this plan, in cases such as those occurring early in European story, where tribes, or peoples, followed their king in the mass, renouncing idolatry and professing the true faith. In such instances there was an individual valuelessness in the act, but there was clearly a national benefit; and the result is this day a national Christianity. The heart of Europe was already Christianised; the life from that centre, like a fire from afar, made itself seen among the remanent heathenisms: these latter knew that this religion was in the middle of their continental life—they knew that it did great things and was embraced by many of their own blood; and thus, when they in their multitudinous way became Christians, they welded with, or fused into, a mass already impregnated, and the result was permanent. But it is otherwise with far-off and isolated heathenisms. There is with such peoples a need for individual convincing, for any mass-work fails through its being smothered and hemmed in by a surrounding heathen power. The masses who in Europe became nominally Christian, entered then a huge Christian commonwealth, too potent to play with or leave. The masses whom the Dutch “converted” remained like beleaguered hosts, and the result was nearly vanity. They possessed no internal stability, and they joined on to nothing which did.

These Dutchmen further erred in scattering their forces. There was Ceylon, enough for Holland. Had they put all their strength out upon these islanders, it had been better. As it was, they sought, by planting here and there a knot of preachers, to leaven everything ; and the result was a lack of thoroughness, even in the kind of surface Christianising attempted. Their evangelising was, in the circumstances, mistaken in its theory ; their scattering plan of action was yet one error more.

We turn to Greenland, Hans Egede, and his successors. Well do we remember the little 18mo, so popular thirty or forty years ago, containing within its green covers a delightful account of all that God and men had done for these Greenlanders. But Greenland seems, nevertheless, a strange field in which to begin the evangelising of men. Greenland is no man's land, and can never influence the world ; it is out of the march of commerce and beyond the music of civilisation. If every Greenlander were a true Christian to-morrow, the fact, however important to individual lives and deaths, would be almost as little helpful to mankind as if they had lived on a star, high up in the empyrean. We are startled at the view of God's teachings and the world's wants which ever led good men to take up such a mission. Except that the ancestors of Egede perished on the east coast of that most dismal country, and that its unsurveyed leagues of ice and snow were, figuratively, under the Danish flag, we know of no claim which Greenland ever had, even upon Danish Christians. After a century and a half of labour, spent amidst peril and misery, and absorbing the whole existence and intellectual powers of very many good men and devoted

women, what is the gain? The whole of Greenland contains fewer people than a moderate-sized English country town; and these prodigious efforts have been made for this handful of persons, who can never get much beyond dressing in seal-skins, and living on blubber. One hundred and fifty years spent, preaching in Greenland! and in 1852, all that could be shown for this appalling strife with man and nature was, that, in West Greenland, there existed 1912 nominal Christians. The same remarks apply to missions to Lapland and Labrador. Any man who knows the rigours of a Quebec winter, and who has sailed down the St Lawrence to the sea, and shuddered, as he gazed on the dark, hard mountains of Labrador, appreciates painfully the force and meaning of such reflections. Such missions are, as matters stand, indefensible in the light of Christian need or wisdom.

We pass from wild, snow-swept Greenland and Labrador to the Guinea Coast, and we ask, Were there no heathens in lands where white men could exist, that white men must be persistently sent where they were certain to die? There is a wail ringing in one's ears as he hastens across the pages which tell of missions to the west coast of Africa. From Scotland, from England, from Germany, crowds of willing men, of trusting women, and of fair children, were sent and set down on that steaming strand to strive, to sicken, and to die. That *something* has been done, is no answer to this complaint. A land of proved pestilence was not the land to which to send Christian missionaries, when other lands waited without a knowledge of Christ. And what of Bishop Mackenzie's destruction on the Shire? Surely nothing

but unthought ever imagined and carried out such a folly. Then we have the dismal tale of Captain Gardiner and his friends ; and we know not which most to blame, the well-meaning but vacillating sufferer, or the thoughtless persons who supplied him with funds.

We have seen missionaries sent to lands the least central, or to lands where speedy death was inevitable. Let us look at missions to races which have either passed away, or which are now rapidly dying out. The case of the North American Indians is surely clear beyond dispute. So, also, is that of the New Hollanders ; and we believe that the total disappearance from the earth of the races which inhabit the South Sea Islands, is as certain as any other ethnological fact. Our survey has been necessarily rapid ; but we believe that we have adduced proof enough to satisfy every candid person that New Holland, New Zealand, and all the gems of Polynesia, are at this instant the homes of races whose existence is coming rapidly to an end, and of whom men shall in 1970 say that they are gone.

There is something very mysterious about this disappearance of peoples, but there is in it nothing new. It would seem as if older races have long since been thrust from European lands, and succeeded by those which now occupy them. Whether such be the fact or not, one thing, however, is plain, that Europeans are now dispossessing and eradicating multitudes, and the new-comers are taking the places of those who are vanishing. Why this should be, we know not ; but the fact stands, that the more vigorous and the feebler cannot co-exist. The white man lands in some rocky bay ; the startled savage hurls his spear at the sailors,

who, for the first time, invade his shores ; the gun from the war-ship booms on his waters, and echoes among his hills ; and as the terrified being flees to his thickets, the first step has been taken for his disinheritance. Europe, especially Britain, would fain save him, but he cannot be saved. Born a savage, meant for savage life, it would seem as if his Creator had decreed that his continuance should be limited to this state, and that the approach of civilisation, and the races who pertain to it, speak the doom of savagism and the savage. Some who have clung, and perhaps still cling, to the hope of elevating all races from the lower to the higher stages of humanity, are shocked at thoughts such as these. Such thoughts jar with the kindest theories of philanthropists and Churches. Still, the supposed harshness of a doctrine which facts are proclaiming, is more apparent than real. God has made millions, as He has formed individuals, for a special time and niche in the affairs of the world ; and when the time for which such are made is gone, and the niche which they filled can be filled more fitly, they give place. It is thus with plants and the lower animals ; and man is not, in certain cases, an exception. No doubt races have risen step by step, century by century, till, as with the Briton, they stand on the pinnacle of culture. No doubt there are certain races, now savage, who will yet thus rise ; but while we can perceive all this, such a belief only confirms us in the thought that there are other races for whom there is no such future. For wise, if for inscrutable reasons, the Great and the Good One has ordained that, like many a youth, they should die early. We believe in the unity of the human race, and glory in the divine

reason, and the immortality which belongs to the weakest of its many families; all this, however, does not, and cannot, interfere with our belief in the tendency in certain scions of the family to disappear. Human action may be the agency employed, and this may sometimes be vile; but the intent of the Divine government is none the less seen.

We are aware that many who are familiar with these decaying races, speak of their being absorbed, and of new races being formed from a mingling of Europeans with them; but experience points rather to disappearance than absorption. Unquestionably, in New Zealand and the South Sea Islands generally, there is now a considerable amount of mixed blood; so also in the Red River district in North America; but it is to be remembered that the exodus from Europe and America is but beginning to affect these lands, and that, when it fully heads towards them, this mixed blood will be but as a drop in the bucket. No absorption, no fusion of races, has taken place either in the United States or Canada; none has taken place in the colony of New Zealand; and we venture to predict that none, worthy of notice, will take place in Polynesia. There are families in America who can say that Indian blood is in their veins; families in New Zealand may, by and by, speak of their Maori ancestors; and so, no doubt, in the islands of the Pacific, families shall yet tell how, generations before, they took their rise in some native source. Nevertheless, all this will be, we believe, exceptional; Christianity itself does not save them—these races will die out, and that very speedily.

This glance at certain missionary operations, in which,

for two centuries, the Church has more or less engaged, leads us to certain conclusions. Thus we conceive that there has been, in the conduct of missions, error from the absence of concentration ; prodigious waste of time and power in the least central and influential quarters ; and finally, graver error still, in dealing with races whose ephemeral character is proved by the fact that some are now extinct, whilst others are rapidly vanishing and cannot be preserved by mortal skill.





CHAPTER XI.

PROPER FIELDS.

WE lay it down as axiomatic that outlying missions should never have been taken up, except in rare and altogether exceptional cases, until all the accessible great centres and homes of the race had been thoroughly occupied. Men should study the mode of the Divine procedure, and endeavour to follow it. The Redeemer Creator designed a world-wide work of propagation and restoration, and He placed His agents to the best advantage. Selecting the Father of the Faithful, by whom the Divine Mission was especially to be commenced, He moved him from the interior of Mesopotamia to a strip of land, having the Mediterranean and Europe on the west, Asia Minor on the north, Egypt and Africa on the south, and on the east Persia, India, China, and the islands of the sea. Canaan lay in the centre of the then known world. As a temporary arrangement to increase their strength and more fully educate the missionary race, the descendants of the

Mesopotamian were taken down to the green fields of Egypt. Thence, in a little time, they were removed, and resting for a few years in the desert, they entered Canaan, where, consolidated and coherent, they sat down finally in the divinely-appointed centre of their operations. From Canaan their voice has gone forth to all the earth, as it could have sounded from no other spot.

The gospel was to be preached to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. The Master had decided that thence it should radiate and pervade the world. Other centres might arise in later days, but the evangelical centre then for the whole earth was Jerusalem, and from that city the heralds were to spread, issuing from its gates to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west. As of all early missionaries Paul was the grandest, let us trace his career.

After the arrest at Damascus, for some special purpose, he withdrew to the solitudes of Arabia, and did not for some years appear at the head-quarters of the infant Church. At length he emerges from his studious seclusion, and having met his brethren at Jerusalem, he goes thence, northward and westward, into his own land, Asia Minor. Again we find him at Jerusalem, and again he goes forth, passing over old ground and entering upon new ; but still Asia Minor is his chosen sphere. On this second tour his wish was to go northward into Bithynia. Had he done so, he might have wandered along the shores of the Euxine eastward, and been shut up in the wilds of the Caucasus ; but this error was not permitted. He was drawn back to the centre, and brought to Troas. Here, on the sea-coast, with the

waves of the Ægean Sea at his feet, the questions must have arisen, "Why am I here and not there, and whither shall I journey now?" But the Divine plan was perfectly formed. He was on his way to the centre of political and European life and the highest civilisation of mankind. He was not to waste his energies, either in sandy Arabia, or in rocky Caucasus. He was to speak to the very ear of the world. His third and last missionary journey was back to Greece; and in such places as Thessalonica, Berea, Corinth, and Athens, his powers were worthily and advisedly bestowed. Finally, when his work was drawing to a close, he was sent, a prisoner indeed, but a missionary prisoner, to the very fountain of human affairs, Rome, where he preached with much success and no opposition for two full years at the least, and we know not for how much longer. The wisdom of such arrangements was early seen, and God's plan should teach us.

Christianity has now set foot, beyond recession, on Europe and America. These lands are seised in her name. She is enfeoffed in them. From these two continents, then, the light must shine forth. But how? After what plan? Into what quarters? We reply:—Always first into those countries which, from their vastness and populousness, are little worlds, whose position is so influential that their influence must tell, and whose inhabitants are a permanent, not a wasting race. We believe that such proposals may encounter opposition—that some may fancy they see in them little faith, and much dependence on human wisdom; but from such objectors we pass without argument, contented to be guided by the wisdom of God. Let the map, then, be

opened, and we find at a glance three sections of our globe, which, from their geographical position, their populousness, and the enduring character of their population, primarily demand the care of the Church. India, Africa, and China imperatively demand that the whole strength of the whole Church be concentrated on them. India touches Burmah on the east, Thibet on the north, Afghanistan and Persia on the west; China presses what is called Further India on the south, and Chinese Tartary on the north, not to name Japan and the innumerable islands lying off her eastern coast. Africa is isolated, but Africa, in her self-contained grandeur, has a claim second to no quarter of the world. These three countries demand, and are capable of utterly exhausting, the intensest vehemence, and exclusive efforts of the entire Church. Were the whole Church to do her whole work, and were every man she could send out sent into one or other of the countries named, its necessities would remain unsatisfied.

Corinth, with her narrow isthmus and her two harbours, was a splendid point for propagandism. Amphipolis and Thessalonica were both cities of commercial importance. Athens was, in all respects, a place of renown. Ephesus had great attractions. Jerusalem and Rome need only to be named. Paul spent his whole Christian life, excepting that brief period of seclusion in Arabia, in the great meeting-places of men. Peculiarly the Gentile preacher, he went wherever his doctrine was, like the thistle-down, most certain to be carried to the four quarters of the world; and we find the earlier preachers generally acting in the same manner. Mark and Peter laboured in Babylon together; and the former wrought alone in Egypt. It is said that Matthew went

to Ethiopia—a land very different then from what it is now. Thomas is said to have laboured among the Persians. John devoted himself to Asia Minor. Thaddeus is said to have spent his days among Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and Mesopotamians. Andrew is reported to have done his work in Greece, as well as Scythia and Thrace. No tradition sends Philip farther off than Lydia. If Luke went to Dalmatia and Gallia, he did not forget Italy and Macedonia. Apostolic missionaries are not found passing over near and potent nations, to toil at the *Ultima Thule*. Even Britain was not visited with the good tidings till the second century, when, by its spreading power, Christianity stepped from the shores of France to the cliffs of Dover. The Swedes and Danes received Christianity in the ninth century. In the eighth century no small part of Germany was still heathen. The early days of the Church were given to the nearest and most powerful nations, and the truth passed onwards; the last of the illuminated throwing the torch into the impinging darkness.

Missions should wait for and follow God's providence. Paul intended to visit Bithynia, but the vision of the night sent him to Macedonia. Bithynia was as destitute as Macedonia could be; but Macedonia was of more importance at that day. Thus, a land may be very destitute. It may have a given importance. It may ask, and excite our pity. And yet God may point the Church, not by a dream, but by a fact, to other quarters. Where conquest has bridled ferocity; where commerce, by self-interest, creates favour; where the land is central; where its climate is such that a white man can live; where the population is large and lasting,—there, Providence tells

us, is a mission-field with a preferential claim. We have no faith in fancy missions—in missions tinged by romance, and chosen by sentiment. We would select the field where a given effort is most likely, now and hereafter, to do most for God's honour and man's salvation. Hap-hazard missions are rash—not righteous; works of supererogation—not things asked for; human devices—not duties; painful to man, and not honouring to God.

We have pointed out the need for acting in the heart and not at the extremities of human societies. We would now urge a point of equal if not greater consequence, that missions should be sent to permanent rather than to decaying races—that the former have a prior claim; that the latter, with their claim, should stand over until this prior claim be responded to; that such a discrimination is wise and Christian, while anything else is unwise and wrong.

People reply, that the spiritual interests of an Indian, or a Tahitian, are of as much moment as those of a Hindoo or a Chinaman—a fact which, so far as the individual soul is concerned, is beyond dispute—but those who urge this can be easily met by the counter-statement, which never occurs to them, that the soul of a Hindoo, or a Chinaman, is of as much value as that of an Indian, or a Tahitian. The value of any soul to its possessor, or to its Author, is equal to that of any other human soul; and such being the case, we are called on to deal with races upon other considerations. We are to inquire, with a force at our disposal notoriously inadequate to the wants of the world, What is best to be done? How can we make the most of it? Surely it is evident

that we can make the most of it by using it to Christianise permanent races. A generation of such, if Christianised, remains, and leaves successors increasing in number. These successors are Christian successors. They have been taught by their converted fathers and mothers the same truths which their parents were first taught by the missionary. Thus taught, they are prepared themselves to teach their successors; and, as the first set of Christianised persons belonging to a permanent race find in their children an audience much larger than the missionary found in them, so their children, when they become parents, find again a still larger audience than they themselves constituted. A permanent race grows more or less rapidly; hence, by teaching God's truth to them, you do two things,—you give it in charge to those who shall continue to the end of time, and you give it in charge to those who, thus continuing, shall multiply and increase. By teaching such, you save souls whose individual value is equal to that of any other souls; but you do much more—you save now souls from death; you also make such preachers of saving truth to other souls, and sow a seed of religious power which, so far as a man can discern, will push its life ever forward, never failing to reproduce itself from generation to generation, until the close of the ages. Religion once fairly rooted in a permanent race, is a permanent good. It is a work coëval in its duration with the continuance of men themselves. The end of time, and the last members of the Church militant, shall tell of the abiding work wrought by the wise missionary, who, by God's blessing, has proved the right man to the right race.

And surely, if this be so, a mission to a dying race

cannot compare in importance with such as we have been describing. In this latter case, the thoughtful missionary has a given reward. He has many converts, it may be, in his own day; for it has often happened that these races have more readily accepted Christianity than those of an abiding character. This has been especially the case in the South Seas; for, making every allowance for exaggeration, all but inseparable from enthusiastic work, there can be no question as to the true work done in Polynesia. But such a man, if he has had present joy, must have felt also that his success would have no continuance. Around him are gathered a people who, willing though they may be, shall cease to preach and propagate at a point so close to the present that it seems but to-morrow. The white man, as in America, will, in two or three generations, possess these islands; the Polynesian will, in two or three generations, disappear, remembered like Eliot's Indians, by grammars, hymn-books, and Bibles in unknown languages, or by curious relics in far-off museums. We profoundly sympathise with the noble men and women who have so faithfully toiled in these seas, and who are now so faithfully toiling; but we feel that their work, as far as the world is concerned, is noble labour misdirected. Not until those enduring races which are now in profoundest darkness have been supplied with Christianity, can we recognise the claims of others. Two supplicants seek our alms: the one is in want, but young, strong, and the father of dependent beings; the other is in want, but more ~~is~~ ^{is} bound, and having none who ask bread at his hand. To which shall we give the only, and in any case inadequate, morsel at our disposal? We

leave the reply fearlessly to the dispassionate and the wise.

If Christianity had, on its reception by a decaying race, been able to arrest the decay, and to lift the race up and place it among those which abide, the case would have been wholly different. Then it would, probably, have been the duty of the Church to leave India, China, and Africa in their ignorance, until the *dixir rite* had been poured out to the feebler peoples, and they were placed in a state of security. But no such work is bound up with the gospel. Its reception may modify events ; it can never arrest the operation of causes belonging to the sphere of nature, not revelation : thus, the one solid argument possible for giving our first care to the feebler peoples dies away in the light of facts which admit of no contradiction.

Allowing for exceptional instances, we feel, then, that the Church has erred when her power has been given to the evangelising of the minor branches of the human family, at a time when its greater members were as ready to be taught, and as much needing teaching. Nor do we consider that the Church is doing right, and acting faithfully to her Head, while she persists in the course on which she has, more or less, entered. We do not propose that the fields now occupied, say in Polynesia, should be abandoned ; but we urge that, in time to come, the love of the Church, the talent of the Church, the prayers of the Church, the toils of the Church, be concentrated with ever-growing intensity on India, China, and Africa.

These remarks apply also to operations hitherto carried on in unimportant and far remote lands. We do not ask their abandonment, but we pray the Church to

think and look, and in future toil at the great centres of life. So, also, with those pestilential shores where white men only die ; let the Church, if need be, still remember any work which she really has there, but let her remember, far more earnestly, her work in fitter regions yet neglected.

We are aware that India, China, and Africa have had much done for them ; we are also aware that all which has been done, is as a drop in the bucket. China is only touched on the rim ; Africa is untouched anywhere but on the miserable west coast, and on the south ; but lately, some eight hundred preachers, American, British, and native, were all the men whom the Protestant churches of the world had sent for India, Ceylon, and Burmah. It seems likely that an English-speaking people shall yet rule this earth ; it seems certain that such shall fill up the vacancies left by tribes which are dying out. Let the oldest branch of this dominant race, together with her great American sister, make it their special concern in the days to come to husband their strength, and to pour it all upon those peoples who, when others are only ethnological curiosities, shall stand side by side or mingle with their far distant descendants. The tribes who are to be the latest tenants of our globe, and whose future, politically, morally, and mentally, none can predict, these tribes command us to give them ceaseless and undivided care. For the others, the Church has already, in the circumstances of all concerned, done more than her duty.



CHAPTER XII.

MACHINERY.

LOOKING as we do to the Church for the ultimate good of the race, no more momentous question can be asked than this:—Has the Church sufficiently given her *intellect* to her missionary work? Does the Church of the present day *think* sufficiently about teaching idolaters the knowledge of Jehovah? There are many schemes for this object—what is their value? Are they doing what is wanted? Is the brain of Christendom adequately occupied with the one special work divinely allotted to Christendom? The Church has given piety and wealth to missions; she has prayed and paid for missions;—is this enough? We trow not. The Church should give not money only, not prayer only, but her full intellect to missions. This she has not in these days done. To the cause of converting the heathen masses, she has given much money, some piety, and almost no thought. Thus the

Church of modern times has not fulfilled, and is not now fulfilling, her special task.

Modern Protestant missions are of two kinds ; some of them belong to, and are conducted by certain churches, and are, properly speaking, the missions of the Church. Others are conducted by associations, whose supporters and managers, although usually orderly members of the Church, act in the conduct of such organisations as independent agents, not necessarily in opposition to the communion to which they adhere, but outside or beyond its jurisdiction and formal supervision. The Church mission belongs to the Church, and is its work ; the "Society's" mission belongs to a number of Christian persons, who pay into a fund, and who form a known or recognisable unit only at an annual meeting called by advertisement.

Between the two classes of efforts there is a radical difference. Of old the Church supervised her missions, near at hand or far off. She did not ordain them and leave others to employ and control them ; she ordained, employed, and controlled her messengers, and the men sent were accountable to those who sent them. If to the Church belonged the maintenance of ordinances at home, the appointment of office-bearers, and the administration of sacraments—to the Church, as surely and exclusively, belonged the sending of Christianity to the heathen, the appointment of men to carry it, and by these men, the administration of sacraments, when the proper opportunity might arrive. Foreign missions, when managed by churches, are merely church expansions. A church, when acting as a church for the heathen, differs from a church which does not so act,

in that the latter, like the Russian Church, sits still ; while the former, like Rome and certain Protestant churches, is on the march.

The "Missionary Society" is not a church, and its missions, although religious work, cannot be correctly called "Church" work. The "Society" cannot ordain its own men ; it cannot apply ecclesiastical discipline to its own men ; it cannot empower its own men to perform any ministerial duty, or to solemnise any Christian sacrament. The "Society" can accept men whom the Church accepts and ordains ; the "Society" can dismiss men whom the Church censures or degrades ; the "Society" can pay men off as bank clerks may be paid off ; the "Society" can name a field, and, if it can find a man whom the Church has set apart, willing to go to the field indicated, it can send him, and it can pay him ; but the Bible does not empower the "Society" to give the missionary the shadow of ministerial authority. The "Society" is a devising and paying contrivance. It is an expedient, and no more. It may help the Church, but it is not the Church. Its servants are its agents, not its ministers. If it be obedient to, and dependent upon, the Church, it is bearable or useful ; if, however, it should cease to lie in the hollow of the Church's hand, that instant it would become an excrescence, an interference, and an evil. Circumstances have hitherto made the Society largely the servant of the Church ; matters might, however, take a very different turn. But whether they do or not, one thing seems plain, that the "Society" is an institution, which never could have existed had the Church done her duty, and which should not exist one hour if the Church would but

stand up to her own work. Viewed as an organisation outside the Church, the "Society" is an anomaly in the operations of modern Protestantism. Hitherto God has overruled such contrivances for good ; but good has been the outcome, in spite of faults inherent in their very essence.

The distinction between Church missions and "Society" missions is little thought of. It is, nevertheless, evident. When the Church carries on missions, she does her own work ; when the "Society" carries on missions, an outside and irresponsible body, unknown to the New Testament and amenable to no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to a large extent exercises the powers, performs the duties, and assumes the responsibilities of that Church of which Christ is the Head. We have seen that the "Society" has hitherto been controlled by the Church ; still the fact remains that the "Society" is an *imperium in imperio* fraught with risk, whose existence is a proof, not that the Church is awake, but that she still slumbers, indifferent alike to her glory and her privileges. That success has followed certain "Society" missions, does not affect our views. God has used the expedient for His glory, because His Church did not move. We believe, then, that until all Christian missions are in the hands of the Church, as the divinely-appointed power upon earth, she has never yet apprehended what her work is, far less performed it. She has all the capacities necessary for evangelising the world, without seeking help from human inventions ; and, whether she accepts such help or not, she is herself responsible for the results. Until, however, she takes all her work into her own hands, it is needful and right that the irregularities

operating around her be utilised to the utmost. Thus we are led to consider how we can best conduct the two classes of missions at present in operation.

Both the Church and the "Society" do their mission-work by the aid of "Committees;" much, therefore, depends on the quality of their executive bodies. What, then, is their usual quality? Have the Church and the "Society" chosen their committees from among the master-builders? Vast sums have been raised, expended, or dissipated; toil and industry have been abundant in the various mission-fields; self-denial has characterised missionaries innumerable, many have not counted their lives dear to them; but the executive bodies who have had the wide-spread agency in their hands, what have they been? It seems evident that, whatever else the foremost minds in Christendom have or have not done, efforts for the conversion of the heathen have had very little of their thought, and still less of their active supervision. There has been much indifference, and not a little scepticism, standing between Christian intellect and strife with idolatry. Home-work has absorbed head and heart, and home-fields have teemed with distinctions for the ambitious. Clergymen and laymen of intellect and learning have very largely forgotten, in the excitement of the pulpit or the absorption of the study, matters more remote. Prelates of intellect and energy have been heavily tasked by diocesan work; presbyters of intellect and energy have been strained by the duties of the parish and the preparation of the elaborate sermon; the intellect and energy of Dissent have been engrossed with the sermon, literature, and the congregation. At an annual meeting in London, or elsewhere, men of

power have occasionally bestowed twenty minutes' talk about making the world Christian ; occasionally, though very rarely, some man of actual power has preached a sermon on the subject, such men have even been thankful to lend their names to committees ; but intellect has taken little part in working out the theory it has so admired and pleaded for. Protestant missions have, in all that is practical, fallen to a distressing extent into the hands of people whose "rating" we cannot determine, but whose inferiority we cannot exaggerate.

The result of this constant practical indifference of really able men has been, that the men who have been entrusted with this most wonderful work of God, have been chosen, not for their administrative talent and comprehensive views, but for their pious respectability, their social position, and their having little else to occupy their time. Married laymen, gentle or simple, a lord, a half-pay colonel, or a retired tradesman, have, with the aid of a decorous rector, or a genteel dissenting minister, been too often the men asked and ready to undertake, if duly summoned by circular, to convert the Jews, to convince the Mohammedans, to confound the Hindoos, and generally to abolish idols and renovate humanity. Only a consummate statesman can draw up and work out a system of secular education for one nation ; a few pious ciphers are generally deemed quite good enough to work out a scheme for a race to whom angels minister. The motives of these excellent people are good ; and as we are rewarded, not for ability or the lack of it, but for our motives, their mental feebleness will not hinder their reward, either at a clamorous public meeting, or in a higher state ; but are these the people to save lost men ?

Can such persons choose proper missionaries? Can such persons choose proper fields? Can such persons lay down any grand principles for the conduct of mission work? Can they, in brief, be more than themselves? Yet these form the class who, to a lamentable extent, are entrusted with Protestant missions. Such form the bulk of every committee; such are the people who are most constant at committee meetings; such, in short, are the persons who do much of the work; albeit *their* work may not be *the* work, and **THE WORK** may remain undone.

The missionary committee of Church or "Society" is one of the most solemn facts on earth, and this should be felt and acted on. Wealth, leisure, piety, all should be on its membership; but it should have yet other qualifications than these. The missionary committee, to be other than a mockery, should, in its active and leading members, be composed of men, all educated, all gentlemen; some shrewd in their knowledge of character; some extensively travelled; some variously and thoroughly learned; some sharply versed in accounts; all anxious, with a special anxiousness, about the task set before it; and all profoundly sympathetic with the men working for them. The aim in choosing such a body should be, not to honour individuals, not to flatter congregations, not to make up a number, but to constitute a college commanding the confidence of the good, and enjoying the approval of God. The consecration of a bishop is not a more momentous act than the election of a missionary committee. That which Christ assigned to the apostles as their work, the committee accepts as its. Surely then it is no folly to ask that for apostolical work

we should have apostolic men. The missionary committee will ever be a misnomer and a failure until the foremost sanctified intellects in Christendom do its work, and command leisure for doing it. The creation of such an executive power is one of the most responsible things of modern times, whether undertaken by a prayerful church, or a bawling multitude. It is a power born into the world for great good or for great evil.

One expedient or speciality evokes another : the missionary committee has necessitated and created the "missionary secretary ;" and it is evident that, if the members of the committee should be men of mark, carefully and prayerfully chosen, this personage, on whom so much depends, should be chosen with no less discrimination and solicitude. Missionary secretaries should be drawn from the moral and intellectual heights of the Church. They should be fit to stand before kings. They should be the equals in capacity of the men of the executive, whose transactions they indite. It is not enough that the secretary be fit to conduct a correspondence dictated, or insert minutes prepared, by others ; a missionary secretary should be one who has such power that he can help, and not like a mere lackey obey.

That such dignified and capable officers may somewhere be found to exist, we have no wish to deny ; it is certain, however, that from whatever cause, the "missionary secretary" too often has small repute for intelligence, and is no great favourite either with those he serves, or with those he commands. Not unfrequently, "the secretary" is a man with rotund presence and sonorous voice ; one who dresses well, can be very polite,

and, if necessary, a little more to a rich man ; can diplomatically snub an "agent" who displays symptoms of an alarming character ; can appear at meetings in the provinces, where he deals in small statistics, and speaks as one having a mind both for his office and his superiors ; can pen a reasonably accurate letter ; can draw up an annual report, the aim of which is to suppress everything unpleasant, to exaggerate everything encouraging, to utter hopes which are absurd, and to use platitudes which are never read but once, and then by himself. The "missionary secretary" is likewise well acquainted with *railway guides*, and travels in a first-class carriage, when most of the subscribers travel in the second or third. His salary is from three to five hundred a year. Too often he is little more than a reputable clerk, treated by the committee as a governess may be in the family of a city magnate. If a clergyman, he has found this billet, mayhap because a wealthy friend was an active committee-man, and because, if a churchman, his living was of little value, or, if a dissenter, his congregation wished to be rid of him. Making every allowance for honourable exceptions, we believe that the picture we have drawn so resembles this official, as to be at once recognisable by every man of mettle who has had the misfortune to depend upon him, or the annoyance to be associated with him.

It may be difficult to secure the services of the proper men, because such are usually otherwise occupied, and, from various causes, feel that it would be a descent to fill such an office, or impossible to rank with such a fraternity. If, however, the Church saw that "missions" demand brains, as clearly as she sees that they require

money, steps would at once be taken to place her ablest men at the forefront of these her most momentous efforts. Able men are ever found to fill the prominent pulpit or the professor's chair, and these must occupy such positions ; but when these centres of influence have been filled, there remain many of the proper type to conduct the work of God among the heathen.

Until the ablest men of the Church are induced to undertake the management of her missionary work, both in the committee and in the secretaryship, this must continue to be rather an experiment than an operation. Spheres of action to which Providence never pointed will still be occupied, while others which are white unto the harvest will be neglected ; incapable men will still be employed, and men of quality will be sent to wrong places ; experience will teach nothing, and confusion and feebleness will still prevail. As if by accident, fit men will drop into ripe fields, cheering all by the result ; but the same dreary round of fruitless effort, and the same dismal class of annual reports, will still continue to vex the good and gratify the bad.

Much has been done in the way of money-giving, for the Church has not been illiberal ; but much more would be done, if due encouragement were set before the money-givers. At this moment, missions require, not so much more money, as more brains to manage the money they have. Congregations pray from Sabbath to Sabbath for the spread of the gospel ; conferences are held for the same object ; appeals for aid are incessantly sounding in the Christian ear. It would be at this instant more to the purpose, if an agitation were set on foot to excite the Church to give to this work her

intelligence. Until this be given, as it is not now given, and as in these days it never has been given, money and prayer are alike vain. The Church has not done her duty to God or to man. Too long, and with too many, the feeling has been that home-work was for the strong, and that idolatry could be managed by the feeblest of the flock. Indifference, inadequate apprehensions, ambition, and semi-scepticism, have all done their share in leading the mighty to tarry at home with the spoil, when such were needed to head the fray on the horizon.

We know that prayer is essential to the success of the Church in all her efforts; we know that unsanctified intellect and effort are worse than vain; but we also know, that it is mere hypocrisy or folly to look for success without the use of the requisite means. To serve Jehovah chiefly with such as have no other thing that they can do, is to insult the Divine Majesty; to pray for His blessing on the efforts of the weakest of His creatures, while the strongest stand aloof, is to play the hypocrite. And there has been too much of this. Thus, we believe, that inasmuch as the Church has not given her intellect to the conversion of the unchristianised millions, has not employed her noblest, in striving to extend the kingdom of the Master, means have been unused, and she lies open to the charge of having failed to fulfil her divinely-appointed task.





CHAPTER XIII.

COMBINATION.

WE have now glanced at missionary operations in many quarters ; we have seen that prodigious efforts have been made for perishing races, or in uninfluential directions ; we have endeavoured to show that great centres and permanent races have the first claim on the Church ; we have considered how far the Church has, in her committees and officers, sought and found her best men for her grandest work ; it now remains for us to consider, that if all were done which we desiderate, one thing is lacking still—namely, combination.

Rome is one : with endless diversities of doctrine, ceaseless controversies, and bitter jealousies, she is saturated with the thought and girdled by the fact of a perfect unity for purposes of aggression or defence. The grating of her internal strifes ceases, when the step of the antagonist is heard approaching the arena, or when

she feels that an effort is to be made for the enlargement of her influence. With Protestants it is necessarily to a large extent otherwise. We have disagreements, not greater than those of Rome indeed, but we have a far greater difficulty in arresting strife, in turning one front to the foe, or in making one common effort for good. We are not, however, so powerless in such directions as some would have it appear. We do, with all our divisions, exhibit much practical oneness. How can we combine for missionary work?

Already the power of co-operation and combination is seen in more than one mission-field. Differences have again and again been labelled and put up on their own shelves, while the grand agreements have been carried out. Men have found themselves, from lack of central combination and arrangement, face to face, not as co-workers, but as mutual hindrances; and when they have seen this, they have so arranged their spheres, that they no more clashed, but each moved free in his own place, doing his utmost, and losing no strength. All missionaries in fields such as India have seen the evils of unarranged action, and the need for central plans and combination. There is little doubt that, at this moment in such countries, and in spite of the kindly sentiments of the missionaries as a class, there do arise clashings, neither seemly nor desirable, and that concerted action at head-quarters could not merely put an end to these, but could so dispose of the available strength of Protestantism, as to make that strength tell to a vastly greater purpose than it has ever yet done. Romanists taunt us with our missionary failures, and infidels taunt us with our missionary failures; certainly, if any human action

could silence such taunts, this would emerge as the result of combination.

We are aware of the jealousies of Christian communions—we are aware of the Quixotic appearance of our proposal; nevertheless, we believe that it is quite possible, with perfect consistency, and without lowering any claim, or even any pretension, for the leading Christian organisations in Britain so to confer and map out great labour fields, that not a man or a minute would be lost, and that Protestant vigour would be applied to the speediest, thoroughest, and most manifest advantage. Episcopacy could do this, and still style herself “the Church;” Presbyterians could do this, and still claim peculiar soundness in the faith; Congregationalists could do this, and still believe that they have the only Scriptural church polity; Wesleyans could do this, and still believe that Arminianism alone could warm the heart; Baptists could do this, and believe still that no man is baptized who is not immersed. Let men of various communions confer simply on this point, “How can the Protestants of the world best evangelise?” No basis is needed—no common creed is needed; all that is needed is a good atlas, and a little ethnological knowledge. With these two aids, the various sections of the Protestant community could take each a territory in any given land, and work that, and that only, till the territory, like a gold claim, was wrought out. Such a conference could also resolve on the particular land thus to be apportioned, let it be India, or Africa, or China. Thus there would be a field for each and all; one land would thus be fully cared for; no party would trouble another; Christian power would be concentrated; feeble

and straggling efforts would end; the missions of the Christian Church would resemble a campaign, and rejoice in unity of thought and action. One assault would be made in one quarter, and the Church would toil and pray for success, as her agents prayed and toiled in the battle. * We know that without the aid of the Holy Spirit this would fail, as well as every other scheme; we believe, however, that, with His blessing, this scheme would be the likeliest to win a race, because the most accordant with reason and the common sense of mankind. Let it be thought of and attempted.

THE END.



the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion.

As the world's population grows, the demand for food and other resources will increase. This will put pressure on the environment and on the world's food supply. It is important that we find ways to meet this demand without harming the environment or the world's food supply.

One way to do this is to use sustainable agriculture. Sustainable agriculture is a way of farming that uses natural resources in a way that does not harm the environment. It uses techniques that are designed to be sustainable, meaning that they can be used over and over again without running out.

Another way to do this is to use sustainable forestry. Sustainable forestry is a way of managing forests that uses natural resources in a way that does not harm the environment. It uses techniques that are designed to be sustainable, meaning that they can be used over and over again without running out.

There are many other ways to meet the world's demand for food and other resources without harming the environment or the world's food supply. It is important that we find these ways and use them to meet the world's demand for food and other resources in a sustainable way.

One of the most important things we can do to meet the world's demand for food and other resources in a sustainable way is to use sustainable agriculture. Sustainable agriculture is a way of farming that uses natural resources in a way that does not harm the environment. It uses techniques that are designed to be sustainable, meaning that they can be used over and over again without running out.

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EARLY
ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS
TO INDIA.



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EARLY ROMAN-CATHOLIC MISSIONS
TO INDIA, &c.

EARLY
ROMAN-CATHOLIC
MISSIONS TO INDIA;

WITH
SKETCHES OF JESUITISM, HINDU PHILOSOPHY,
AND
THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE ANCIENT INDO-SYRIAN
CHURCH OF MALABAR.

An Historical Essay,

BY

JAMES F. B. TINLING, B.A.,

Author of "An Evangelist's Tour Round India,"

"An Echo of the Voice of George Fox," &c.



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PREFACE.

IT is particularly important in the present day to understand the true character of Roman Catholicism. Every one knows that that system has had much to do with the world's past, but there are many who think it is becoming effete, and that it will have little to do with the future. Nothing will serve better than such a belief to lead it back again to power. Without saying that it is exclusively "the mystery of iniquity," of which Paul warned the Thessalonian Christians, we believe that it is the greatest illustration of that mystery, and that it will have much to do, at least as a source or cause, with that final development of Anti-christianity which is to characterize the end of the present age, according to the Scriptures. Indeed, the variety of appearances which it has presented to the world confirms its title to the name of "mystery." Its portrait in the fifteenth century, with the gross features of immorality and ignorance, would not be recognised in the succeeding generation of the mighty Jesuits; while these again, in their day of youthful power, seem no fit representatives of the enfeebled popery of our own rationalistic age.

But the principles of the great Apostate Church are all unchanged; her claims are the same to-day as ever, and her desire and hope of enslaving the world. Her doctrines have increased, but they have not altered, so that the causes of past atrocities are still integral parts of her system, only waiting for opportunity to bear again the same black fruit. It is true that history reproduces itself, but history is made by men, and in proportion as men understand the past, they will save themselves from the reproduction of its evil.

The example which India affords of the character of Romanism is a remarkable one. Far removed from Europe and from the battle-field of the Reformation, burning with the zeal of Xavier, mighty with the swords of Portugal and the Inquisition, learned with the new-born literature of the West, and crafty with the super-human subtlety of De Nobili and Beschi, the Church of Rome exhibited in vivid colours its character, purpose, and religious ability in the early missions to India. It did battle with Brahminism on the one hand, and on the other with the ancient Christianity of Malabar; and each of these antagonists, as it came in contact with Romanism, drew out some peculiarities of the system of which, perhaps, nowhere else could we find better illustrations.

But the interest of this page of history is by no means exclusively connected with the study of Romish Christianity. The political condition of India, the land of wealth and wonder to the West, when Europeans first settled on its shores, and an Eastern Cæsar at Delhi was still claiming the allegiance of hundreds of tributary kings; the hoary philosophy of Hinduism, with its superstructure of childish polytheism, and the isolated Christian Church at Malabar, with its eight hundred years of Indian history, and its faint but most interesting testimony of spiritual truth, will, we hope, be matters of thought sufficiently interesting to commend the subject of the following essay to intelligent Christian readers. In the collection of materials the writer has freely availed himself of Hough's elaborate "History of Christianity in India," especially for the story of the Syrian Church, Steinmetz' "History of the Jesuits," Dr. Duff's "India, and Indian Missions," and Marshman's "History of India."

CONTENTS.

The present state of India:	PAGE 1
Discovery of the Ocean Highway:	5
The Mogul Empire in the Sixteenth century:	7
Early History of the Indo-Syrian Church:	9
Its Spiritual Condition and Creed:	13
Founding of the Portugese Settlements:	16
A glance at Europe under Alexander VI:	22
State of Society in Portugese India:	25
Hinduism, in its Original Philosophy, Popular Mythology, and general influences:	30
Comparison of Hinduism and Popery:	34
Francis Xavier; his Character and Early Life:	38
His various labours, in India and elsewhere:	40
A view of Europe under the successors of Alexander VI:	55
Historical Sketch of the Jesuits:	57
First efforts against the Syrian Church:	65
Systematic and successful attack by Menezes, Archbishop of Goa: *	73

	PAGE
The Syro-Romish Synod of Diamper:	81
Romanizing of the Syrian people:	83
Revolt after sixty years of servitude:	85
Second submission of the Southern Churches	86
Romish Persecution checked by the Dutch:	87
The Church Missionary Society in Malabar:	89
Later Jesuit Missions: Brahminized Romanism:	93
Estimate of Romish Converts: their number and value:	95
General Character and Examples of Protestant Missions:	97
Influence of Romanism upon these:	101
Closing reflections:	102

EARLY ROMAN-CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO INDIA, &c.

THE present condition of India is one which makes the study of her history peculiarly interesting: it presents a contrast to every phase through which she has passed in the long ages which tell of her greatness. For more than twenty five centuries she has acted an important part in the history of the world. No country, in ancient or modern times, has, in a similar way and to the same extent, influenced the destinies of Asia and Europe: none, without a voice in the councils of civilized nations, has ever gained or been worthy of so much attention.

**Introduction
respecting the
present con-
dition of India
—commercially
—politically
—religiously.**

The trade with which she has enriched the kingdoms that have trafficked with her, and the almost equally continuous spoliations she has been able to endure at the hand of ruthless invaders, alike bear witness to her wealth; and to this day the rule holds good, which history has established by many examples, that the nation which draws most upon the resources of India, is at least one of the foremost nations of the world.

The story of India's foreign commerce would begin long before the reign of Sesostris in Egypt. It would follow the course of the wandering Phœnicians, and cull from the histories of Judæa and Macedon, Persia and Rome. It would lay before us the development of

**Glance at the
history of
Indian com-
merce.**

Europe in its merchant navies and its domestic refinement, and account, in a great measure, for the rise and fall of cities and countries; for the successive glories of Genoa and Venice, of Portugal and Holland, and, lastly, of Britain. It might be illustrated by the desert wonders of Palmyra, and the busy mart of Alexander's city, created for the transit of India's riches; and it would end with the record of accomplished peace and union in connection with that island of the far west, which, in spite of its littleness, God has made able to govern the tribes, and to absorb the commerce of the empire of Akbar and Aurungzebe.

To the same peaceful end comes down **Past wars and the long story of the wars of India.** Her **present peace.** northern plain has been the world's greatest battle-field. Persians, and Greeks, and hordes of Eastern Asia, followed by tribe after tribe of fierce Mahometans, have rolled over it like the fire over the prairie. Unceasing wars within kept the cup of misery ever full; while the establishment of Europeans on her coasts brought for a long time only an increase of strife. But now this afflicted country has entered on an age of peace; and whether, by God's mercy, that peace remain unbroken under the strong hand that preserves it, until India can stand alone among civilized nations, or it be but a long breathing time before further conflict, it is interesting to look back from such an era to the different events of earlier history, to see how some of them—even of the darkest—were preparing the way for the present happiness, and to learn something more of the character of man in the excitement and temptation and opportunity of those evil times, and of the design and working of the unknown God whose hand was ever over all.

But apart from the fact that India is **The present** now united and at peace, and that her **phase of** commerce, no longer partial and uncertain, **religion.** flows in one broad and unceasing stream, the peculiarity of her present religious state is alone of sufficient im-

portance greatly to enhance the interest of any historical events which have helped to bring it about. While furious invasions and internal wars have levelled in turns her hundreds of thrones, the huge religious system of India—the empire of the Brahmins—has survived them all. Mahometanism and Buddhism have given it the rudest shocks; but it flourished green as ever while the last Mahometan dynasty faded away, and it rolled back the tide of Buddhism from Ceylon to the borders of China.

But what neither Mahomet's generals nor Gauthama Buddha could do is being done by another power. The hand that drove aside the clouds of Europe in the sixteenth century, and took the fetters off the prisoners of darkness, is doing the same for India three centuries later. Millions of Hindus are slowly but surely passing into liberty from a despotism more searching than that of Peruvian Incas, and as tyrannical as that of mediæval Rome. The intellectually leading class of India has boldly seceded from idolatry. It is numbered already by tens of thousands, and every year increases its strength. Apart from missionary schools, with their directly Christian influence and real converts to the truth, the Government colleges of British India, and even the Hindu college itself, founded by zealous Hindus for the support of the decaying faith, are sapping the foundations of Brahminism. Each of the three Presidencies has now its university: that of Calcutta alone has received 1350 candidates for matriculation in one term; while, at the same time, nearly 500 applied for admission at Bombay. These men continually swell the ranks of the "Reformers," and strengthen one another in infidelity and deism. The boldest or most sanguine among them are not satisfied with holding the new opinions themselves. At the risk and cost of what they once held dearer than life they have become apostles of the "Indian Reformation." Their voices shake the great temples as they cry for the regeneration of their country, and thou-

sands are convinced by their words or overcome by their enthusiasm who have not yet dared to follow their example. Nothing can save Brahminism but power to persecute its heretics to the death. Whether this means would restore the kingdom of darkness or not we cannot say; the history of reformation in Europe affording examples both of its success and failure—in Italy, France, and Spain, on the one hand; and in Britain, Holland, and Germany, on the other. These men have as yet rather the cause of Erasmus than of Luther; but if British power is to continue paramount in India, the era which has commenced must go on; knowledge must spread and superstition retreat before it, and the end of that which is begun must be the utter destruction of Brahminism, and the enthroning of nominal Christianity, or more likely of modern religious thought in its place.

Progress in every part of national **Progress** education keeps pace with this great **general know-** movement. Intelligent natives congregate **ledge.** at agricultural exhibitions, to examine, and put in use, the steam ploughs of Birmingham. Brahmins, of rigid type, travel with Sudras and Pariahs on the British railways. The Country is being welded together, not only by rail and telegraph, but by the new language which is everywhere necessary to promotion. The Bengalee reformer visits Bombay and Madras, and preaches fluently and intelligibly to those who know nothing of his native tongue. The many tribes of Bombay with their different dialects have a ready escape from Babel in the culture of this language of the far West: while the government, and merchant offices, and banks throughout the entire country are filled by these English-speaking men of every Hindu race, many of them deprived by universal peace, or by the remodelling of the Sepoy army of all prospect of honour and wealth by war, or suffering from the destruction of the native aristocracy by Lord Dalhousie's laws of "Settlement" and "Resumption."

These are the representative men of modern India. Naturalized to their new position and life; strong and confident; half English in manners, and perhaps in heart, they are abolishing caste, and idolatry, and ignorance, and closing with a growing twilight, the long night of Brahminism. It is from this early morning of New India that we would look back upon one of her hours of darkness; and, if we are heart-sick at the scenes of violence, cruelty, and fraud, and of the wickedness of Pagans outdone in the name of Jesus Christ, we have at least the comfort of knowing that this dark hour ushered in the dawning, and of tracing some connection between the tyranny and selfishness of man, and the present deliverance which is being wrought by the hand of God.

Interest which the foregoing considerations lend to Early History.

The Portuguese expedition to India was the opening of intercourse between that country and Europe by the great ocean highway. As we have already noticed, India was far from being an unknown land to the people of the West for centuries before that time. Since the Crusades had introduced the inhabitants of Europe to the luxuries of the East, an intense desire for trade with India had possessed them, and the energy of cities, and of the merchant class, which the same chivalrous wars had been the great means of creating, was turned into this channel. But the streams of traffic were scanty and uncertain; and, as they flowed through Alexandria, St. Jean d'Acre and Constantinople, the nations which possessed no influence over these places could do little more than watch with jealous eyes the growing wealth and power of their fortunate neighbours. Moreover the Mahometans commanded the whole of the country through which Indian merchandise had to pass on its way to Europe; and this stimulated the efforts of Spain, Portugal, and Britain to find some new and open route to the land of desire.

Efforts to discover a new way to India, and the first voyage thither by the Cape of Good Hope.

Fleets were despatched in all directions, and, while one course conducted Columbus to the continent of America and gave Spain a richer possession than that she was looking for, the real object of search was attained by Portugal, whose Admiral, Vasco de Gama, cast anchor in the roads of Calicut, in May, 1497.

Before following the course of the history further, let us consider the importance of this arrival. It was no less than a new invasion of India; nay, it was more important than any previous invasion. There was probably nothing very formidable in the appearance of the few ships that anchored off Calicut—nothing to inspire terror like the swarms of a Tartar or Mogul Conqueror; but it was the invasion of India by Western Europe—by those hardy and enterprising nations whose warriors had conquered the conquerors of Asia, and which still were characterized by the spirit of chivalry, and by the skill and courage of the crusaders. Moreover, it was the opening of a new entrance, or rather of many such, into the heart of India. Hitherto all invaders had entered by the north-west corner, by the gates of Affghanistan. History has taught us how those gates might be locked against an enemy, so as to be more effectual than Thermopylæ was to Greece. But, even if India had learned so to use them, it was now too late; every port and roadstead on her coasts was thrown open to nations more powerful and persevering than those which had set up the successive thrones of Delhi. From this point there has been no going back, no moment when India has been free from the presence of the new invaders. The few Portuguese who accompanied Vasco de Gama were the advance guard of European armies, which, though they have wasted their strength in warring with one another, have moved on, at least as much of necessity as of choice, subduing Hindus and Mahometans alike, and merging all in the great new empire which exhibits the union of Europe and Asia. If we say that

**Importance of
the discovery
of the
sea-passages
to India.**

the progress of these armies was the progress of civilization, we must be understood to have the end distinctly in view. The triumph of Europe is the triumph of civilization ; yet the dealings of Europe with India have often been more worthy of Tartars than nominal Christians, and have disgraced in turn almost every nation which has had a share in them.

A view of the political state of India on the arrival of the Portuguese is necessary to an understanding of the history of their colony. It was 500 years since the first Mahometan invasion, and 1200 years since Mahomet Ghore founded the first Mahometan empire in India. Invasion, murder, and insurrection had changed the dynasty many times ; and when the first Portuguese fleet arrived, the second house of Ghore was falling to the ground. Within thirty years, and while the new comers were still struggling for a foothold of the soil, Baber founded the dynasty of the Moguls. The Deccan, or India south of the Nerbudda, was long independent of the Mahometan power. Indeed, it might have conduced to its happiness if it had been otherwise, for independence meant war—continual war, with all possible sufferings and barbarities. But the sovereigns of the Ghiljie family, the most short-lived of Indian dynasties, carried the Mahometan arms, in the beginning of the fourteeneth century, to Cape Comorin and subdued the whole country, excepting the tract of land between the Western Ghauts and the sea, which remained unmolested for some time longer.

**The political
state of India
at the beginning
of the
16th century.**

Conquest would have been a boon, if it had been followed by strong government, but this was not the rule in India ; the madness or incapacity of one ruler neutralized the successes of another. The Deccan revolted from under the monster, Mahomet Toghluk. Two fugitives created in the extreme south the great Hindu kingdom of Bisnaghur. When the Portuguese arrived, the head of this kingdom reigned from sea to

sea over all the Hindus south of the river Krishna, and counted fifty-six kings among his dependents. North of his territory lay the Bahminy kingdom, the Mahometan rival and oppressor of Bisnaghur, which owed its existence to the same cause, and dated it from the same period. It broke up at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and gave rise to five separate Mahometan states, of which the three most important and longest-lived were Beejapore, Ahmednuggur, and Golconda. Anticipating the history a little, we may notice here that half a century later (1565 A.D.) these Mahometan States united against the great rajah of the south, and utterly destroyed the Hindu power of the Deccan in the battle of Tellicotta, making Mahometan authority as complete on the southern as it was on the northern side of the Nerbudda.

The strip of country known as Malabar had a more distinct history of its own than any other part of India. Its great inland boundary—the Western Ghauts—was a wall of defence to the people of this region when the Mahometan armies poured down upon the Deccan, or the hostile rajahs wasted the rest of the Peninsula with fire and sword in their yearly wars. Almost unmolested by the Hindu powers of the South, Malabar seems long to have enjoyed an immunity from Mahometan invasion; but the last great general of the Bahminy kingdom,—whose death was the signal of its dissolution,—overran both the Ghauts and the sea-board, and took possession of Goa, a short time before its occupation by the Portuguese. Native traditions assert, with a good deal of probability from the geographical and geological character of the district, that the whole plain of Malabar was given up by the sea about 2,300 years ago. With the history of its settlement in those far-off times we have nothing to do, nor would it be possible to get any certain information. It appears, however, that, early in the ninth century of our era, the first independent king reigned in

**History of
Malabar.**

Malabar, and his character and doings were of very great importance to a colony of strangers who were settled in his kingdom. These strangers were the Christians of the Syrian Church.

Of all the wonders which astonished the Portuguese on their arrival in India—and they were many,—none would be more unexpected than a Christian church or nation. The pretensions and the power of Rome during the middle ages were so prodigious, that, even now, they almost make us overlook the existence of many independent churches in different parts of the east, so that it is no wonder if the ignorant soldiers and monks of Portugal were astonished, in the first place at the profession of Christianity of the Syrians, and in the second place at their independence of Rome. Yet in truth many such churches were scattered over Asia from Mount Lebanon to India and even China, while others had long existed in Africa on the banks of the Nile.

**The Syrian
Church of
Malabar.**

Rome had not failed to labour long before this time for the conversion or rather annexation of these bodies of Christians; but she had met with little success; except where her patronage was considered sufficiently important to be bought at the expense of liberty. None of these churches was more interesting in its position and character than that of Malabar. In the land of Hindu idolatry, surrounded on all sides by the votaries of Shiva and Vishnu; in the land of yearly war and perpetual change, was settled, in peace and worldly prosperity, one of the oldest of the churches of Christendom. On the slopes of the Western Ghauts and in the plain below, were thousands of professing Christians living, and maintaining, in much of its original purity, the truth which had been entrusted to their ancestors thirteen centuries before. Although probably unknown at this time to the Mahometans, whose rapid raid from the Bahminy kingdom is not likely to have touched these settlers in the Southern end of the Serra and of

the Concan, and although exercising little of the influence of a Missionary Church, they were nevertheless an important political power on the coast when the Portuguese arrived in India. Their military force consisted of 40,000 well armed and disciplined soldiers, superior to those of most native princes, while the social standing which they had acquired was that of equality with the naires or nobles of Malabar.. This military strength and political importance was the result of the patronage of Ceram Peroumal—the sovereign whom we have mentioned as reigning in Malabar, nearly seven centuries before. But the foundation of the Indian church dates much further back than the earliest kings of Malabar. **Early evangelization of India.** Lovers of tradition ascribe the first Christian labours in India to the Apostles Thomas and Bartholomew, or to Philip's Ethiopian convert. There is neither proof nor probability to support these assertions, but we have some interesting fragments of history without them. However, the gospel was carried to India, it had taken root there before the end of the second century; for at that date Pantænus, the head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, undertook a missionary journey to India in consequence of a request for help from **And ancient history of the Syrian church.** certain Christians who were there to Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria. This request seems to point to the probable source from whence the Indian Christians had received their first knowledge. No further notice of the Indian church occurs in history (excepting the title with which an Eastern bishop subscribed at the Council of Nice), till the middle of the fourth century, when we are told an interesting story of two young Christians from Tyre who visited the Malabar coast as travellers in the company of an elder relative, and who were retained as slaves after the latter had been put to death. They are said to have risen to the responsible position of regents of the country and guardians of a young king, and to have used

their influence with great effect for the furtherance of Christianity. The elder was afterwards ordained bishop of the country by Athanasius, and became the means of converting many of the heathen to Christ. Cosmas, "the Indian voyager," in the sixth century, reported, from his own experience, the existence of Christian churches both in Ceylon and on the Western Coast, and spoke of them as Nestorians. They changed their views for those of the Jacobites in the ninth or tenth century, after the example of their patriarch at Seleucia, when the patronage of the Mahometans made the latter sect, with the Melchites, the most powerful among the churches of the East. All these churches had lost the spirit of primitive Christianity long before this time, and in 650 A.D., a Christian writer named Jesuyab, lamenting this fact with regard to Persia and India, attributed it to the misconduct of their patriarch, the metropolitan of Persia. But such a temporary and merely governmental evil could not account for a wide-spread spiritual degeneracy. It would have been strange, indeed, if the East had been entirely unleavened by those pernicious principles which so rapidly corrupted the churches of the West. Rome in the seventh century was already far on her way to "that bad eminence" of apostacy on which she has now been seated for a thousand years. The independent churches of Europe were falling before her—Britain, France and Spain, in turn, submitting to the yoke. And the churches of Asia would have been as welcome slaves, and would, in all probability, have shared their fate, had not God cast up a barrier for their protection, which for centuries the emissaries, and even the armies of the Pope were unable to pass. That barrier was the power of the Mahometans. The presumption and fanaticism of the false prophet were overruled by the Divine hand, to be the means of keeping back the flood of apostate Christianity

General declension of the Eastern Churches.

Mahometanism a wall of protection to the Indian Church.

from the shores of India. And during those centuries the Syrian church had its full day of opportunity and trial; and if, at the end of that time, it was weighed in the balances and found wanting, it is nothing strange that it should have been given, for a time, into the hand of spoilers. Under the Mahometans, Christianity, such as it was in the seventh and following centuries, spread considerably in Asia; the conquerors for a long time judging it good policy to patronise the followers of Christ; and the Malabar Christians probably increased in numbers. But the greatest cause of their increase, was the settlement among them, **Settlement of Thomas Cana, in about the year 800 A.D., of an Armenian Malabar.** merchant, named Thomas Cana. He was possessed of immense wealth and consequent influence. He had two houses, one in the South, and another in the North of Malabar, and two wives, either at the same time or, as history by its vagueness allows us to hope, in succession. A numerous family by each of his wives succeeded him in the possession of his estates; that in the south, whose head quarters were at Cranganore, being deemed the more respectable branch, and declining all equal intercourse with their half-brethren of Angamale and its neighbourhood. It was about the time of Thomas Cana's residence in the country, and no doubt through his influence, that the Syrians of Malabar received the privileges, which we have already referred to, from king Ceram Peroumal. They were a large and important class in the population of his newly-founded kingdom, and he secured their attachment by a wise and liberal patronage. The Christians of the opposite coast had been persecuted by the native princes, and had fled to the mountains; the generosity of the new king of Malabar drew them down to his standard, and settled them in the districts of Travancore and Cochin. In civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters the Syrian Church was made independent **Christians drawn together into one district.**

of its Hindu rulers, and responsible to its bishops alone ; and the precious privileges which this exceptionally enlightened king had granted were confirmed on tablets of brass, which the Syrians preserved till the arrival of the Portuguese, and which still remain in existence. In spiritual life and in numbers they received valuable help a century later from the visit of two missionary ecclesiastics from Babylon, who seem to have stimulated the church, and converted many of the heathen by powerful preaching and a godly life. From the measure of prosperity they received from Ceram Peroumal they passed in time to a higher, attaining complete independence of the heathen, and being ruled by their own kings. But they appear to have forgotten the value of this liberty, in allowing their kings, in default of children, to adopt the native princes as their heirs. Thus when the Portuguese arrived, their Christian sceptre was no more than a venerable relic, and as such they presented it to the Portuguese admiral.

The most interesting question which the existence of this Syrian church in India can suggest to us regards its moral condition and its testimony to Christian truth amid the darkness of heathenism. It is of little comparative importance that it numbered an army of 40,000 men, or that it could show among its relics the sceptre of Christian kings. In considering the efforts made in India by Roman Catholic missionaries, in the name of Christ, we naturally inquire with special interest, what measure of Christian knowledge was possessed by natives of the land which these strangers had invaded ; what standard of morality prevailed among the Christians of Malabar as compared with the standard of Rome. From the fountain head of Judea, on the borders of Europe and Asia, the gospel had flowed out in many streams, to the East and to the West. The streams of the West had, with the exception of the most eastern, been absorbed in

**Moral and
spiritual state
of the Church of
Malabar.**

**Comparison
of Western and
Eastern
Christianity.**

one swollen, turbid river; those of the East continued to flow in many channels, but their waters, if clearer than that of Rome, were sluggish and shallow. The energy of Europe, of the city whose Cæsars had conquered the world, had made an empire of Christianity, an empire whose subjects were zealous for their own enslavement, and in whom obedience to conscience, or to God alone, would have been treason against the world church and punishable with death. Nothing like this had bound the churches of Asia. Perhaps the force of character necessary to produce it was not to be expected from the Asiatic mind. No doubt something of tyranny, and much of servile obedience might be found among the patriarchs and the people of the Asiatic churches; but, for the most part, there was liberty unknown to the churches of the West. This, however, was not enough to ensure the continuance among them of the spirit of primitive Christianity. The leaven of the East might not be that of the West, but the one was as much a reality as the other. The force of human will in the Papacy might enslave, and almost destroy European Christianity at the very time when it was sickening in Asia, through the sloth and fatalism of the Eastern character. This was, in fact, what had happened in the two churches which were brought into contact with one another by the Portuguese invasion of Malabar. In point of doctrine, the Syrian Christians would have borne comparison, favourably, with any church in the world; but the existence of primitive truth amongst them may be accounted for, at least in part, by that character of quiet sameness which makes the Asiatic of to-day dress like his ancestors of a thousand years ago, while the fashions of changeful Europe have passed through ten thousand varieties. If the truth acknowledged by the Syrians had been held in the spirit of the Lollards, or the Vaudois, there might have been no need for Protestant missionaries to India; but the history of the church of Malabar brings out no traits of character worthy of the *faith which it professed*.

We would not, however, deny all credit to the Syrian Christians for the maintenance of Christian doctrine. If there was little spirituality of mind among them, there was at any rate a morality of life which contrasted equally with the manners of the heathen and those of the Portuguese settlers. They were noted for temperance, sobriety, and chastity; for honesty in business and general fidelity. They were courteous to strangers, and deeply imbued with respect for authority; and although constantly armed and trained in the use of their weapons from early childhood, they were the most peaceable of subjects. Moreover, their strength and courage, for which they were held in high estimation by friends and enemies, were beautifully blended with gentleness of disposition, which showed itself in charity to the poor among them and in kindness to their slaves. They were so closely allied to the Armenian Church from the days of their second founder, Thomas Cana, that we might reasonably expect them to resemble the Armenians strongly in character and in doctrine. Their doctrines have been preserved to us by Romish historians and ecclesiastics, and we find in them the resemblance we should have expected; so in spite of the grievous faults which the history of the sixteenth century proves against the bishops and leaders of the Syrian Church, we may hope that the late existence of truth among them was in part the result of that constancy in the national character which distinguished the Armenians for many centuries in enduring Mahometan oppression and resisting the corruptions of Rome.

But few of the traditions of men which had become part of European Christianity had found their way into the creed of Malabar. Originally tainted with the error which had the name though not the sanction of Nestorius, regarding the person of our Lord, they had abjured it in becoming Jacobites, and they were then sometimes

**Good points in
the character of
the Syrians.**

**Doctrines of
the Church of
Malabar.**

accused of having gone to the opposite extreme by adopting monophysite views regarding the person of Christ. They grounded all their opinions upon Scripture, denying the necessity of any other authority. The pope's supremacy was usurpation to them, and the peculiar doctrines of Rome a corruption of the faith. This being the case, it is not necessary to specify the many points on which they differed from the Portuguese monks and priests. The latter held sacred the accumulated mass of opinions which successive popes had added to, and by which they had nullified, the gospel; while the Syrians, in their quiet isolation, having no motive for adding to the Word of God, preserved the letter of it, at least, in much of the integrity of Apostolic days. Yet there seem to have been spots of almost heathen darkness among the churches of Malabar; as on one occasion the native prince, himself an idolater, rebuked them sharply for their neglect of their own religion; and on another, men professing to be Christians were found divested of every idea of Christianity, and knowing no worship but that which they offered to a picture of an old man, a young man, and a bird. Bad as this was, it will not appear to enlightened Protestants to be much worse than the wisdom of the Romish priests who undertook to instruct them, and explained that the object of their adoration represented the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Having thus briefly sketched the political condition of India and the character of the Syrian church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we now follow the course of the history which tells us how the vanguard of the armies of Europe established itself in the land of the Hindus. The natives were for the most part quite ready to give the Portuguese a friendly reception; and so was their sovereign, the Zamorin of Calicut, the descendant of Ceram Peroumal in the most important branch of his family. But the Mahometans, in this opening chapter

**History of the
Portuguese
settlement on
the coast.**

of Indo-European history, showed the jealousy and hatred of Europeans which they have so often manifested in later times, and which had so much to do with the great revolt which threatened the extinction of British power in India in 1857. By their influence the Zamorin was persuaded to treat the Portuguese as enemies, and on the arrival of their second expedition under Cabral, the factory which they had built was seized, and all the Europeans who were in it were put to death. The Portuguese admiral retaliated by burning Mahometan ships, and the town of Calicut; and sailing southwards to Cochin, he obtained a friendly reception from the rajah of the district, and concluded a treaty between him and the King of Portugal.

It is not consistent with our subject to enter into all the political details which resulted in the firm establishment of the Portuguese power on the western coast of India. We may observe, however, The genius of
of the Portu-
guese and other
Leaders. that it was not effected without the leadership of men of genius and daring. This becomes a striking fact when we notice a similar one in the history of both French and British India. It is not the inferiority of the Eastern races alone which accounts for the immense success of European arms. Sikhs, Affghans, and Rohillas, and even Mahrattas and Mysoreans, have proved themselves formidable enemies to British soldiers on many a well-contested field. Not unfrequently it has happened that the gallantry of the men has barely saved them, while sometimes it has failed to save them from the destruction with which they have been threatened, by the incapacity of their officers, and the imbecility of civil governors has in every presidency been the cause of national shame and loss. But a few great leaders do much. Dupleix and Bussy came near to founding a French Empire in India, which, if it had been established, would have been the result of their political and military genius; and no one who knows the desperate danger from which British statesmen and

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British generals have, by God's permission, rescued our cause in the East, can say that the absence of Clive or Hastings or Wellesley would not have ensured our sharing the fate of Portugal or of France. Pacheco and Almeyda successively maintained the Portuguese foothold against a native army and the fleets of Egypt and Guzerat; and Albuquerque, who followed them, being a man of yet larger views, and fit to rule an empire, seized and fortified the island of Goa, 240 miles south of Bombay, Malacca in the eastern peninsula, and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf; and maintaining himself in these places by means of numerous armed factories and a strong fleet, raised his country at once to great consideration among all the native princes. Albuquerque seems to have been beloved as much as he was feared, and therefore possessed elements of greatness and claims to honour which few men of any race in India had shown in the sixteenth century. But this did not prevent him becoming one of the many martyrs whose memories the histories of France, Portugal, and even England in the east, have to preserve to their countries' shame. The scaffold, the prison, the long-protracted trial, or the cruel contempt of neglect, have rewarded in all these countries, some of the most able and devoted of their Indian servants. He was happy indeed, if such an one was then to be found, who served a higher master than these fickle kings. Of the European nations who have established themselves in India, the French alone seem to have been animated throughout by the desire for territorial aggrandisement. In spite of the immense extent of British India, and the many charges made against the statesmen and soldiers into whose hand it has fallen, it is now an unquestionable fact of history, that territory has been thrust upon Britain by an inevitable necessity rather than usurped by her. There is little merit to be claimed for this, since the one thought of the directors of the East India Company, who

**European
nations—excepting France—
had no desire
to found an
Indian Empire.**

were no part of the British Government, was to draw as much wealth as they possibly could, and it was their general and very reasonable opinion, that the acquisition of territory, and the wars it would involve, were but questionable honours, for which they might have to pay largely out of their own treasury.

The Portuguese seem to have been influenced by similar motives. They were determined to maintain a monopoly of Indo-European trade, and so swept the seas with their fleets from Malacca to Persia and Arabia ; but they seemed to have preferred armed factories to tracts of land, and to have made little or no attempt to increase their settlement at any distance from the coast. That this was by no means the consequence of any respect for native rights they showed plainly by their assault upon the harbour of Diu, belonging to Guzerat, in 1528. Their immense preparations on that occasion resulted in failure, through the great efficiency of the native artillery. This fact would seem strange to those who think of western Europe as always foremost in modern military inventions ; but the fact that cannon were first used by the Turks at the siege of Constantinople, in 1453, and that the Mahometan powers in India were in easy communication with those of Europe, makes the superiority of Guzerat intelligible. The invaders were, however, shortly afterwards successful in establishing an armed factory in this harbour, partly by treaty, and partly by force ; and their maritime power, increased by this means, caused so much jealousy among the Mahometans, that the Sultan at Constantinople united with the King of Guzerat and three of the native princes of the Deccan to expel them from India. Immense efforts were put forth in this expedition. **Great combined** About three hundred thousand men assailed **attack upon the** the ports of Diu, Goa, Choul, and Chale, **Portuguese.** and it seemed an impossibility that the few regiments of Europeans who garrisoned these places, and who, in the case of Diu, were reduced before the end of the siege to

forty fighting men, could maintain their ground. But the desperate valour and military genius of the soldiers of Europe, saved them, in all cases, from what appeared to be inevitable destruction. From that time the Portuguese were almost unmolested by the Indian powers. Men who could fight such battles, and stand such sieges, were not lightly to be quarrelled with. And so the energy and warlike spirit which had been exercised in fighting Mahometan fleets, and Hindu armies, needed a new direction and a new object.

Missionary enterprise offered to supply the necessity. It was no new thing for the spirit of conquest and chivalry to be offered on the altar; for men whose lives were "earthly, sensual, devilish," and whose

The energy of
Portugal
directed to
Missionary
enterprise.

hands were continually imbrued in blood, to become the self-elected champions of God. Bad as men are, nothing stirs their minds more generally than religion. Ignorantly, presumptuously, they decide for themselves what is truth, or accept what is offered for it by the traditions with which they are most familiar. But whatever they really believe becomes a power on the life, so that those who have a creed in their hearts are ruled and driven by it according to the strength of their passions, or the susceptibility of their minds. Pure religion—the heaven-born gospel of Christ alone—changes the man before it uses him. All other religions, being powerless to do this, must use him as he is. They may, and do develop much that is there already, pouring oil upon the flame of his zeal, and quickening the energies of his soul. But these energies are merely natural, and are often the slumbering enemies of God and men. If religion finds a man brave, she makes him absolutely fearless; if he is obstinate, she makes him as one deaf and blind; if he is cruel, she fits him to be an inquisitor. Hence we do not wonder that the followers of Mahomet should be earnest to make converts, and that they should do so with the sword.

General
influence of
Religion.

The fierce tribes of Arabia, united by a religion of enthusiasm, could not be other than fierce enthusiasts. But it is strange to see men contending in the same spirit, if not with the same weapons, for Him who came to manifest that "God is love," and who charged those who would be His disciples, if a man smote them on the one cheek to turn to him the other also. Yet this sight has been a common one in the Christian Church, even from the earliest ages, and the page of history we are now to glance at records one of a thousand examples of it. We have always to bear in mind that professors of Christianity are not necessarily Christians, nor is Christianity chargeable any more than "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" with what has been done in their respective names. We have seen that she was little known in Europe, in the fifteenth century, and so we do not expect to find her reigning in the colony of Portugal. In opposition to the method of Mahometanism and false Christianity, the true action of the gospel is expressed in one brief and divine sentence, "Speaking the truth in love." Here there is zeal for God and man, and no energy is too great to be consecrated to this service. It allows, yea, charges a man to be "instant in season, out of season, reproving, rebuking, exhorting," but it must be "with all long-suffering and doctrine." To such a spirit, coming in contact with Hinduism, or even with the church of Malabar, all true-hearted men would wish God speed; but such was not the spirit of Portuguese settlers and Romish missionaries.

Yet at the very outset, and having stated the rule, we must notice a notorious exception. Francis Xavier was the first Romish missionary of note in India. For forty years before he commenced his labours, priests and monks had been plentiful in the Portuguese settlements. But for the most part their zeal had found other expression than preaching to the natives. Xavier, although a Romanist—a Jesuit—an apostle in the eyes

**Xavier
an exception to
the rule
just noticed.**

of his church, cannot fairly be taken as an example of that church. He stands alone in the picture of his times, a strange, but noble figure, suggesting sad thoughts of misdirected energy and superstitious zeal, yet refreshing the mind that has been studying his contemporaries with traits of love, and pity, and self-denial which one may look for elsewhere in vain. Ignatius Loyola had just founded the "Society of Jesus," and Xavier was one of his first and most illustrious converts. But we cannot introduce our sketch of Xavier's labours by an account of Jesuitism. To do so would be to flatter an evil system, and to disparage a great man. The ignorance, the superstition, the false doctrines of Rome, are no doubt, abundantly illustrated in the life of her Indian apostle, but with all these there was in Xavier an uprightness of character, a denial of self, a devotion to God, and a sympathising tenderness which forbid us to characterise him morally as a Jesuit. We shall therefore reserve our notice of the Society which came to the aid of tottering Rome, and which gave Xavier to India, until we have to consider the missionary efforts of men who were Jesuits indeed.

Yet Xavier was the champion of Rome, who went forth to do battle with idolatry, and therefore we cannot well go beyond this point in the history without glancing at the religious aspects of Europe and of India, and endeavouring, as briefly as possible, to manifest the essential character of the two systems of Hinduism, and Romanised Christianity. Neither of these systems was built in a day. As to the latter, it had been growing for nearly a thousand years when the sixteenth century began. Bad at the best, and corrupted during all those ages by elements of evil which never ceased to work destruction, it had at that time, by all testimony, arrived at a climax of apostacy and wickedness. The supremacy which had been sought by ambition, and obtained from a murderous emperor;

**A view of
the Religious
systems of
Europe
and India.**

which had been confirmed by the false Decretals, and used for the extinction of national and individual liberty, had enabled the mistress of Christendom to pervert the gospel as she pleased, and to add doctrine after doctrine as she found them conducive to her interests. In this way Roman Christianity became more and more corrupt till "the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint, and from the sole of the foot, even to the head, there was no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores." At the dawn of the sixteenth century its representative was Pope Alexander VI, a man whom the cardinals of that day were not ashamed to set up as the vicar of Jesus Christ, but whose existence would not now be tolerated in the most depraved and lawless society of Western America.

There was no crime of which this supreme bishop was not guilty. And if history can supply an example of a more monstrous criminal, it is his illegitimate son, whom he trained in vice and made an archbishop and a cardinal. Europe had long been prostrate at the feet of Rome; now Rome herself lay bleeding at the feet of the Borgias. The "holy city" was the nest of robbers and assassins; no man's life was safe whose wealth could tempt the insatiable avarice of the Pope or his son. Yet the Church, which had chosen this leader, allowed him to reign in peace; nay, in many of its members, enjoyed and approved his rule, because he paid his servants punctually, and patronised the arts; and he died at length unmolested, through accidentally drinking of the poison he had prepared for a company of his courtiers whose wealth he meant to possess. This was the Pope who sent Christianity to India, the kings of Spain and Portugal having sought and obtained from him a bull authorising them to hold exclusively their newly-discovered dominions, "*with a view of propagating the Christian religion among the savages by the ministry of the Gospel.*"

We could almost suppose the Papacy had been in the hands of deadly enemies during the election of this Pope; for surely the bitterest hatred, and the keenest satire might have been well expressed in such an appointment. But in truth there was nothing more needed to produce the amazing exhibition, than that Popery should be left to itself. "God gave them up," as He did the heathen world before, "to a reprobate mind." Lies in doctrine produced sin in life, and sin grew by its own nature and because that which produced it grew until it became too big to be concealed, and then there was nothing left but to sin without shame, to call darkness light and light darkness.

It might be unjust to form our opinion of the religious condition of Europe entirely from the character of the Pope and the state of Rome, although no one can reasonably doubt that these were indications of a corrupt state of the church, and that they must have immensely influenced the morals of the people. But unfortunately we have overwhelming evidence that Alexander VI and his cardinals were true representative men of their age. The state of Rome was no accident, but the result of the system which reigned with equal sway in Italy, Britain, and Portugal. Everywhere the regular clergy were avaricious, depraved, and tyrannical. The monks, who were no better, and if possible, more ignorant, ate up the lands like swarms of locusts; and from these the common people learned their religion by means of the blasphemous mummeries of miracle plays and the lives of their teachers. The only antidote to the evil, the Word of God, was an unknown book; so that the will worship and the traditions of men prospered without hindrance. Here and there a few might groan in secret over the state of the church. A man of learning and heart religion like Grostête, might dare to protest openly against the laxity of morals; and the poets Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch, might picture the purgatory of wicked popes. But these protests were no more than

the stones in the bed of the torrent, of which the smaller are borne along, or lie unnoticed at the bottom, while the greatest can do nothing to stop its course. Such was the religion of Europe, when Europe undertook the conversion of India. Nothing could be more unchristian than such Christianity.

We have only further to inquire whether there were any circumstances in favour of Portugal which might make it appear that she was at all better fitted than other Roman Catholic nations of the age to Christianize a heathen country. There were none. She was as fit as any to be an example of the religion we have described. Moreover, we have testimony to the character of the men she sent out to India—testimony not of later Protestant writers, or of enemies, but of Roman Catholics of their own age and country. And besides this, the unquestioned facts of history which we must pass in review needed for their accomplishment the hearts, and minds, and hands of the zealots of Popery.

The description given by Roman Catholic writers of life in Portuguese India is sufficiently horrible, and yet it is acknowledged to be but a part of the truth.

**The state
of Society in
Portuguese
India.**

Profligacy reigned without fear or shame, and shared her authority with violence, treachery, and atheism. One of the severest censors of his own countrymen was the Carmelite missionary, Vincent Marie de S. Catherina, distinguished for his efforts to put the yoke of Rome on the neck of the Syrians; yet this very man applauds the people whom he persecuted with as much earnestness of language as he uses in denouncing the wickedness of the members of his own communion. It is true we must not charge the Church of Rome with all the immoralities of her people; and it may be said that the state of English society in India 150 years ago was no compliment to Protestantism. But there is this difference between Romish and Protestant colonies, that the former have the means of religion, such as they are, established

among them, while the latter very frequently have not. The British settlements in India were long without so much as military chaplains, not to speak of missionaries or other ministers. Their spiritual interests were shamefully neglected, and the result was a general immorality. But this may surely be more reasonably charged upon the absence than upon the presence of Protestantism. It was very different with the colonies of Portugal. They were never without priests and monks professing to be armed with Divine authority and power to communicate the influences and blessings of the church. Therefore, according to the doctrines of Rome herself, they would be responsible for the moral and spiritual condition of their people to an extent which could never be the case with Protestant churches.

Let us now consider those Indian nations which Alexander VI. desired to convert to mediæval Christianity. The "savages," as he called them, will bear comparison with their missionaries. This, however, is not saying much, nor is it possible to say much in favour of Hindu or Mahometan morality. Turning from Europe to India, we look from one dark picture to another. It is difficult to say which is the worse unless we consider the comparative opportunities and responsibilities of the two, in which case we must certainly condemn Christendom. But neither had that superiority which would have justified it in undertaking to teach the other, yet we find that each assumed this in turn; the Mahometans, who afterwards reigned over India, teaching Islamism to Europe at the point of the sword, and the warlike children of the West returning the assault in a similar spirit, in these missions which we are now considering. The mass of the people of India, however, were quite free from such thoughts of religious conquest. Brahminism was the gift of the gods to them alone, and no stranger could be joined to them in any one of those castes into which

**Religious
condition of
India.**

the gods had divided them. But what was Brahminism? And what moral character did it produce in its adherents? The first of these is a difficult question to answer briefly. One might travel throughout the length and breadth of India, examine its splendid temples, observe the worship of the people, and listen a thousand times to the poems in which they celebrate the doings of their gods, without understanding the fundamental idea, the original philosophy of Hinduism. By such experience one would necessarily learn much of the moral character of the people, enough to distress and to sicken those who had lived in the healthy atmosphere of true Christianity; but one would probably be baffled in the attempt to discover the scheme of man's wisdom which had resulted in such a manifestation of sin and folly. For this knowledge we must go to the ancient writings, which are to India what the Bible is to Christendom. Even this, however, does not make the task an easy one.

**What is
Brahminism?**

**The great
Shastras of
India.**

If, instead of the Scriptures, our authority were the entire works of all the Fathers of the first five centuries, we should hardly depend upon such a ponderous mass of theology as that contained in the "Great Shastras" of the Hindus. It has been said that "the longest life would not be sufficient for a single perusal of them." It would be irrelevant to our subject even briefly to describe their contents. We may, however, convey some idea of their size by noticing that the Puranas alone, which, together with the great epic poems of India—the Ramayan and the Mahabharat—constitute one of the eighteen subdivisions of the sacred books, contain about two millions of lines, while the poems we have mentioned run on through half a million more. The whole of these Shastras are declared to be of divine authority, some of them having proceeded directly from the mouth of the creating deity, and the rest being a revelation from him, through the medium of other gods or inspired sages.

The very language in which they are written is sacred, and, in the hands of the most divine race of the Brahmins, carefully guarded, like a precious locked casket with the treasure contained in it, from the presumptuous handling of other men. It has thus been ever difficult for a Brahmin, impossible for any other Hindu, to examine for himself the religion of his own Scriptures. British authority, and the labours of great European orientalists, have, however, now brought to light enough to show clearly the true system of Hinduism, and to bring to the bar of public opinion the philosophy which is chargeable with the moral degradation of India.

There are men in India now, men of note and influence, the religious leaders of young Bengal, who contend earnestly that the first religion of their country was a pure deism, a soul-satisfying worship of the one true God; and who, preaching a theology which has been suggested to them by a one-sided view of Christianity, declare it to be the faith of the venerable Vedas. This is utterly untrue, and the authors of it, if honest men, must be strangely deceived. They teach what they desire to believe, but what has been proved by incontestable evidence to be without foundation. The Brahminical religion of India never was anything else than Pantheism. It may not have been—nay it was not—in the earliest days, the elaborate system which now makes room for three hundred and thirty-three millions of divinities, but it was that which naturally produced all that now exists, which made the idolatry and the ever-increasing polytheism of modern times a possibility and a necessity.

**Pantheism
the original
Philosophy of
the Vedas.**

It is true the first conception of this venerable religion was that of one supreme God, and that the sacred writings often speak of this being in a manner that might lead us to believe his worshippers could acknowledge no other. He is described as eternal, immutable, immaterial,

**The Nature
and Attributes
of the
Supreme Brahm.**

invisible ; almighty, omniscient, and omnipresent, and as enjoying unspeakable happiness. But there is nothing in all these words, or in the many others which the sacred writings apply to Brahm, to satisfy the common desires of men with regard to the object of their worship. There is nothing to call forth devotion, or fear, or hope, nothing to accept or reward their services ; for the Indian Brahm is absolutely without moral qualities, and, in his present and proper state, without so much as the consciousness of his own existence. His happiness is that of a profound and dreamless sleep. Hence there is no such thing in India as worship of the one supreme God, nor was it ever intended that there should be. The philosophy which imagined Brahm was under the immediate necessity of imagining other gods as objects of worship, and to fill the place in men's minds which could never be filled by a confessedly unconscious divinity. But although new gods are brought upon the scene by Hinduism, the Hindu shastras continually assert that Brahm alone exists. Apart from him there is not, nor ever can be, any animate or inanimate being. This is very plainly teaching that all which does exist is God, and it is just this which Hinduism intends to teach. Brahm, say the Vedas, after ages of repose, awakes out of sleep, and wills the existence, or rather manifestation, of the universe. Properly speaking there is no creation in this. The god says, "Let me be many ;" and all that springs into apparently new existence at his will is but an endlessly varied manifestation of himself. In this way the triad of Hindu gods, first drawn forth from the supreme, Brahma, Vishna, and Shiva, is a triple reproduction of Brahm for the further development, preservation, and destruction of the universe. To the same source the three consorts of these gods owe their separate existence ; the sensuous ideas of Indian philosophers supposing such sexual variety a necessity for the comfort of the heavens, and the government of the earth. While all the schools of Hinduism agree as

to the character of Brahm, and the eternal priority of his existence, and while the idea of creation out of nothing has never entered the mind of any Hindu, there is great variety and, indeed, hopeless confusion of theories as to the actual history of the manifestation of the universe. We need not introduce here even the outline of more theories than one ; it is enough for our purpose to know the basis of the popular system of worship. We may, however, notice, in order to make more plain the essential Pantheism of India, that all orthodox Hindus reject the doctrine of the eternity of matter as opposed to spirit, as well as that which represents matter and spirit as blended together in the nature of one God. Moreover, that a common belief among orthodox Hindus is, that as spirit cannot create or even influence matter, that which we call matter has no real existence whatever, but is an illusory appearance of a purely spiritual reality. According to the popular mythology which is grafted on one or other of the philosophical systems professing to be taught by the Vedas, the entire universe was developed from "the mundane egg," which the supreme god, in one of his hours of consciousness, produced by assuming in turn a male and female nature. Before the formation of this egg, however, all the principal elements necessary to the fully developed universe had been educed from Brahm directly or indirectly ; the difficulty so troubling to the Hindu mind regarding the action of spirit upon matter being supposed to be overcome by the doctrine of the grosser elements being evolved from those less gross, which again owed their origin to more spiritual essences, the most purely spiritual of all being the intellectual principle which flowed directly from the Divine source itself. The egg being formed, and all these earlier productions being collected within it, the supreme being entered it in the form of Brahma, and occupied 430,000,000 years in bringing it to maturity. At the end of that time he burst forth in divine splendour and visible form,

accompanied by the complete universe with its many worlds. These worlds were next peopled with their respective inhabitants—celestial, earthly, and infernal. The energy of Brahma is described as exercised in this work. He strives and fails, then fasts and mortifies himself in order to success. He rages and weeps over repeated failure, and nearly faints away at the sight of the monstrous creatures which find existence in his tears. At length he succeeds both in heaven and on earth. He makes more gods to rule India than men and women to regard them. Evil is personified more than good, for it is easier to imagine the former than the latter. Gods of lust and theft and folly and cruelty, as well as some of a better character, call for the worship of men. Every action of life, however ordinary, however trifling, is put under the supervision of one of these. Everything is religion, yet nothing is spiritual, scarcely anything moral. The future rewards of obedience are of three kinds, the lowest being an upward step in the transmigration of the soul, which, however, may at any time fall back again by subsequent failure. The second is a temporary and sensuous enjoyment of one of the higher heavens, after which the soul returns to its labours. And that reckoned the highest of all—to be attained only by an extraordinary course of self-mortification and abstraction of the mind from all earthly things—is the absorption of the soul in Brahm,—is, in one word, annihilation. For the punishment of the wicked there are 100,000 hells, in one or another of which the offenders against Hinduism are tormented, according to their guilt, for a few years or for millions. But annihilation is the final end of all. What the saint may attain at the close of life by his virtues is the consummation of all virtues and vices, all rewards and punishments. After millions of ages, and many periodical deluges, Brahm is again as at the beginning. The entire universe is gone, returned to its original source. Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are blotted out as

truly as their votaries and as the material worlds, and nothing remains—though Hindus declare that exactly the same amount of existence remains—but the supreme god sunk in his dreamless sleep.

It is not difficult to see what the **Necessary effect** character of a nation must become under **of Hindu** the influence of such a religion as full- **mythology.** blown Hinduism—a religion which insists on being felt every hour by its slaves of every caste; which keeps ever before them the lustful lives of its demon gods in the endless poems which celebrate their deeds, in the shameless representations of the same upon the walls of their temples, and in the association of one or other of them with every circumstance and every state of life. A people will never rise morally above its gods, provided it really believes in them. And if Hindus were to conform themselves to the example of their best and most favourite divinities—Vishnu in the incarnation of Krishna—they would think very lightly of theft and indecency. The ordinary temple worship is, as we should expect, marked by a moral filthiness which can never be fully described to a people of Christian sensibilities. Troops of “sacred” prostitutes are an essential feature of this worship, while one of the commonest objects of adoration throughout the whole of India, by men and women alike, is the indescribable “Lingam,” of Thiva. It is inconceivable that a nation should remain for ages under such influences as these without sinking below the average state of human depravity.

Moreover, apart from the examples of **Effect of the** their gods, and the immoralities connected **original** with their worship, the original philosophy **philosophy.** of Hinduism was of itself sufficient to deaden the conscience and to paralyse the mind in any struggle with evil. In its consistent Pantheism it denies that man is a servant to God, and teaches him to consider his relationship that of a part to the whole. As Brahm must

be everything, predestination accounts for all that is bad, as well as all that is good in the world, so that man has no free will, and therefore we might reasonably add, little conscience, no merit, and no guilt. And if nature so far survived these theories as to persuade the Hindu that his future in some measure depended upon himself, he found little to encourage him in the meagre reward held out to a lifetime of tedious ceremonies, or in the assurance of a common final annihilation to good and bad, to gods and men.

Such was the religion of India when it was invaded by Roman Catholic Christianity. Such had been its influence upon its millions of people, when the men of Portugal and of Rome landed upon their shores. The absurdities of Hinduism have, no doubt, often caused a smile; but if we would learn something from them, we must see, not a subject for mirth, but an awful and humbling proof of the vanity of man's philosophy in the matter of religion. The men who laid the foundation of the system we have been considering were no thoughtless savages, or wild dreamers, or collectors of distorted traditions, but men of mental power and earnest meditation,—men who were dissatisfied with the conclusions of the philosophers who preceded them, and who dared to grapple anew with the great problems which none had hitherto been able to solve. They were men who would know the nature of God, the origin of evil, the history of matter, and who dwelt upon these questions until they thought they had found an answer; and their scheme was as reasonable in its first conception as those of other rationalists who have ventured self-confidently upon the same ground. They could not, any more than these, satisfy the heart or allay the fears of guilty men, and hence others quickly built upon their foundation a monument to their shame.

**Lessons which
may be learnt
from Hinduism.**

We need hardly say that no systems could present a greater contrast than true Christianity and the Pantheistic idolatry of India. Yet we cannot but see many points of resemblance between the latter and the Christianity of Rome. In direct contrast with the Gospel, which proclaims salvation by grace through faith alone, Hinduism and Roman Catholicism exalt man's works, the one as the only means, the other as the principal means of obtaining the favour of God. They are two great systems of self-righteousness; but when we come to examine the righteousness which they produce, we find there is nothing more in the one case, little more in the other,—except when light from without raises the soul above the system of Rome—than a round of trifling ceremonies, without any moral or spiritual element. Both Hinduism and Romanism, in their fuller and later forms, were made by the priests to magnify themselves at the expense of the people. Their persons were sacred, their interests considered in all things, their enrichment identified with service to God. In order to secure the people's dependence upon them both in Europe and in India, they kept the sacred books in a language which the people did not understand, and thus they were able, without shame and without opposition, to prescribe and to demand what they chose, although in the one case it was directly opposed to the teaching of the Bible, and in the other found no place in the most sacred of the Shastras. We shall have occasion to notice hereafter how some Romish missionaries practically acknowledged the resemblance of the systems in their adoption of heathen rites. But, apart from this, the church of Rome had for ages been teaching Brahminism to Europe, and the Brahmins Romanism to India, in the pilgrimages, and ablutions, and penances, and self-mortifications with which both systems endeavoured to satisfy the most sensitive souls, and to quiet the most uneasy consciences.

**Comparison of
Hinduism and
Roman
Christianity.**

No religion is so dangerous as that which most closely imitates the truth. Romanism must necessarily imitate the truth in order to have a standing at all, because its origin is primitive Christianity. Hinduism has no such connection with revelation, yet we find truth strangely copied from time to time, even in the midst of its bold Pantheism and monstrous idolatry. God, it teaches, is all and everywhere; His worship and service are the true life of man; nothing is too little to offer Him, nothing too great. There is enough of the image of truth here to carry home even to many inquiring minds the lie upon which it is painted. But what a contrast have we in the result of its reception to that produced by the Christian teaching from which it might seem to have been borrowed—"to live is Christ"—"whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks unto God and the Father by Him."

**Imitation of
truth in
Hinduism and
Romanism.**

Before leaving the subject of the moral relationship which subsists between Hinduism and Romanized Christianity, we may notice one point in which they are the complements one of the other, and in which together they afford, perhaps, the weightiest of all examples of a great truth of Holy Scripture. That truth is, that the natural man cannot find out God, nor even retain the knowledge of Him that has been given by revelation. He "understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned." And, again, as "the carnal mind is enmity against God," it "does not like to retain God," that is, the true God, "in its knowledge." Hence Hindu philosophers struggled in vain to account in a reasonable way for God and His works, and "professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." Hence, too, worldly and merely nominal

**Each of the two
systems the
complement of
the other in
relation to a
spiritual truth.**

Christians who succeeded the apostles and earliest bishops of the church, in spite of the mid-day splendour of Gospel light, fell gradually back into midnight darkness.

There being so little to choose between Hinduism and true Romanism, the efforts of the Pope's missionaries and prelates cannot much engage the hearts of the lovers of truth. And yet none of these, we think, have been able to read the story of Xavier's life without some feelings of love and admiration, or without a measure of shame that such zeal as his has so often been wanting in the bearers of the Gospel of salvation. While it is certain that a belief in the doctrines of Rome tends to destroy all faith in God, and so to prevent the fruits of the Spirit, history affords us many examples even in the darkest ages of men, who neither knew nor sought an escape from the apostate church, taught by the still small voice in their hearts. Thus Grostète could sit as bishop of Lincoln, and denounce with indignation, made weighty by a holy life, the corruptions of the papacy. Thus Curione, and Vergerio, and others of the "Renaissance" could walk for a time in the land and within the Church of Rome by a light which Rome could never have given them. We believe Xavier's heart was moulded by the hand which moulded theirs; nor will any one who marks the wonders of God's ways, or who remembers that He is able to fill one "with the Spirit from his mother's womb," find it inconceivable that the Romish saint and apostle should also have been a humble child of God, and a believer on Jesus. He had not the light which enabled Fra Bernardin Ochino to preach, in his cowl, salvation to the crowds of Venice. His soul was never electrified by the concentrated truth of God's message to the monk of Wittemberg. But if, on this account, his usefulness was not to be compared with that of Gospel preachers in the Church of Rome,

Bright exceptions in the Church of Rome to the spirit of Romanism.

the Christian elements of his character shine out, in the gloom which surrounds him, with the greater brilliancy.

Yet we are far from considering Xavier, apart from his work, as a satisfactory Christian. If his heart was tender with the love of Christ, his mind was darkened by belief in Rome; and that belief, held with all his eager enthusiasm, produced grievous inconsistencies of character. Moreover, the story of his life has no doubt been grossly exaggerated. If we receive it from the biographies of Roman Catholic writers, we must believe in apostolic miracles, in superhuman exertions and sufferings, and in unprecedented missionary success. If, on the other hand, we would learn it from his own letters, and turn to those annual epistles which he wrote to his friends in Europe, we are likely to be deceived by a burning earnestness and by sentiments of piety which are greatly qualified by the thoughts of the same writer in his more frequent and familiar intercourse with a missionary friend. In these last letters we see the man; a character more real, if less divine, than other authorities would make him, and yet so great as to justify the admiration we have expressed.

Xavier was born in 1506, in one of the noblest families of Spain. His home was an ancient castle in the kingdom of Navarre, where he spent a somewhat lonely and contemplative youth. At seventeen he left his father's castle for the University of Paris, where he studied philosophy with native talent and characteristic earnestness. The result was agreeable to his ambition. He became a Professor and Lecturer, and his lectures won him some fame. He was at that time as unlikely as any man to adopt an exclusively religious life. But there was one watching him whose eye had detected the enthusiasm and nobility of his character, and who possessed one of those master minds which control the wills of other men, and change the direction of their lives. Ignatius Loyola was at

**Danger of
exaggerating
the virtues of
Xavier.**

**Birth and early
life of Xavier.**

Paris, lodged in the College with Xavier. **Ignatius Loyola**. One of the most chivalrous of soldiers, —his influence cast out of his profession by honourable on the life of wounds, he had devoted his life to spiritual Xavier. warfare. The Knight of Spain, the gay courtier and gentleman, had passed off the scene, and the Knight of the Virgin occupied his place, in the guise of an eccentric mendicant. That mendicant, shrunk from with horror, or hooted at in derision, was laying the foundations of a kingdom which was to exist in the midst of all kingdoms, and to trouble them all. Probably at that time he was unconscious of the greatness of the system his hand had begun to form; but he knew the materials that were most valuable for any great and enduring building, and he set himself patiently to collect them. He did not work in vain at Paris. He went to it one man, and left it ten—ten men of one mind and heart, individually great and fitted for great things, but ruled absolutely by the will of the original Ignatius Loyola. Xavier was not easily won. The world smiled upon him, and Ignatius called for separation from the world. Faber, the former swineherd of Savoy, surrendered quickly; but the proud and high-born Spaniard in the midst of his philosophy, disliked and ridiculed the ignorant enthusiast. Yet Ignatius, in his ignorance, was stronger than Xavier with his philosophy, and, in spite of the resistance of the latter, the walls were undermined and the fortress taken. Patient endurance and acts of timely kindness compelled the young professor first to admire and then to love; and in the intimacy of hearty friendship, the fire of Loyola's religion kindled an equal flame in the heart of Xavier. Whether the grace of God was at this time communicated to the future missionary or not we cannot say, but there is something very like the working of the Holy Spirit in this incident of these men's lives. Ignatius, with his deep human wisdom, had been expressing joy at his friend's success; then, as if musing in himself had added,

"But what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" That word, whatever was its really spiritual power, was mighty for Ignatius and for Rome. It converted the professor of philosophy into the apostle of the Church.

Protestant influences are said to have **"Heretical"** been at work on Xavier before the arrival **influences on** of Ignatius. The reformation had its **Xavier.** converts and supporters in Paris, and with some of these he may have become familiar; but the language in which he refers to his heretical acquaintances would be more applicable to the freethinkers of the School of Lorenzo de Medici, which the revival of letters had created, than to the sober and godly followers of Luther and Calvin. He says of Ignatius, when introducing him to his elder brother in Spain, "The benefit he has conferred of highest value is that of fortifying my youthful imprudence against the deplorable dangers arising from my familiarity with men breathing out heresy, such as are many of my contemporaries in Paris in these times, who would insidiously undermine faith and morality beneath the specious mask of liberality and superior intelligence." It is quite possible, however, that Xavier, under the influence of Loyola, might speak in these terms of men whose Protestant faith and morality ought to have commended themselves to his conscience, and at the same time that he might have learned from them some lessons of truth which his heart and life retained after he had cast off as heretics the men who had taught them.

Three years more Xavier spent in Paris, **Ignatius and** and three with his confederates in Italy— **his associates** the latter period as a poor friar, tending **in Italy.** the sick in the hospitals, and preaching a revival of religion in the universities. Then came the call to his great life-work. The king of Portugal heard of the **The call to mis-** new order which Loyola had founded, and **sionary work.** the piety and zeal of its members. He

was dissatisfied with the monks of the old type who had been sent out to India to win souls, and had done little but care for their own bodies, so he begged the entire society from the Pope, and the Pope was ready to give it. But Loyola had a will of his own, which neither Papal supremacy nor Jesuit vows could set aside; and as he did not want to go to India, or to part with the weapons with which he meant to conquer the world, the king and the Pope had to change their minds. Loyola gave them two of his party, and a fever seizing upon one of these, more generously substituted Xavier, with whom his general would not lightly have parted. With the devotedness which ever characterized him from the time when he renounced the world at Paris, Xavier yielded joyfully to what he believed was the will of God. But through the long and many delays of those times, it was more than two years before he set foot in India. There was room for missionary work, however, on the way. Ten months at Lisbon, and six at Mosambique, offered many opportunities of doing Christian service, and Xavier used them to the utmost of his ability. In May, 1542, he landed at Goa, where he is said (with no improbability) to have spent the whole of the first night in devoting himself to God, and praying for blessing on his labours.

And now, what were those labours, and what the amount of blessing which accompanied them? We have seen that we cannot rely on the accounts of the Romish biographers of Xavier, and that we must trust for information almost exclusively to his own letters; moreover, that the rose-coloured tint of his yearly epistles, written in the exciting atmosphere of communion with Loyola and the great ones of Europe, is apt to deceive us, and therefore that, while we may count on the truth and honesty of the writer, we must look for the picture of his heart and life to more homely correspondence. Facts Xavier will always give faithfully, and to those

**The labours
of Xavier
in India.**

facts we now turn. For five months after his arrival in India he remained at Goa, discharging the functions of a priest of Rome, but adding to these a constant and earnest testimony against the vices of the nominal Christians of the place, and a strenuous endeavour that appears to have had some measure of success, to lead them into something of Christian morality. But great as were his zeal and purity of life, they were not accompanied by that stability and triumph of faith which have distinguished so many Protestant missionaries in years of discouraging labour. We find him continually moving from place to place, and when we seek in his letters an explanation of these movements, we meet with so many expressions of disappointment and impatience, such open avowal of failure, that we are obliged to believe he was more led by vague hopes of better success in further and yet further fields, than by the principles of apostolic evangelists. Before he arrived at Goa, a college had been founded for the education of natives in the doctrines of Rome, with a view to their becoming the Pope's missionaries to their countrymen. The college was not finished, and there were neither students nor applicants for admission; but the want was already supplied by Rome's easy way of making Christians and missionaries: a number of children had been procured, who were, by the divine will and transforming power of the church, to be fitted to convert the thousands of the heathen. Xavier gave much attention to this college and obtained the transfer of it to the Jesuit Society. Before half a year had passed he was in another field of labour. This was the *Mission to the* pearl fisheries of the Paravars, in the *Paravara.* neighbourhood of Cape Comorin. The choice of this region was not of Xavier, but of the Portuguese governor, Don Alphonso de Soza, who had a scheme in his mind, to create a united nation of these scattered fishermen, who had already, under Mahometan oppression, purchased the protection of the Portuguese

by a promise to become Christians. Even before Xavier's time, 20,000 of them had, according to the Jesuit authority Tursellinus, been baptised by Romish priests, who immediately after left them to themselves. For a year Xavier laboured among the Paravars, having the encouragement of performing thousands of baptisms. He knew nothing of their language, nor did he ever acquire it; for, nearly two years after this time, during a later visit to this same people, he describes in one of his letters his helplessness in the midst of a population of an unknown tongue, without the assistance of an interpreter. He adds that he ought to be an adept in dumb show; but that nevertheless he is not without work, since no interpreter is needed to baptise infants just born, or those which their parents bring, or to relieve the famished or the naked who come in the way. The absence of his interpreter on this occasion was owing to sickness. Xavier freely availed himself of such help whenever he was able; and indeed, according to the Jesuit Bouhours—the loudest of his panegyrists—he had much need of it; for, says that authority, “in truth he spoke very badly, and his language was but a confused jargon of Italian, French, and Spanish.” With the picture of Xavier's helplessness before them, drawn by his own hand, it needed the boldness of Romish casuists to declare, as in the process of his canonization, that “when he visited people of various tongues, which he had never learnt, he was in the habit of speaking their language with as much elegance and fluency as if he had been born and educated in the countries, and it often happened that when men of different languages composed his audience, each heard him speak in his own tongue.”

One of the most familiar passages of his letters describes the way in which he laboured on his first visit to the Paravars.

**Description of
Xavier's mode
of preaching.**

He was accompanied by several boys from the College at Goa, and was joined in the midst of his work by a

coadjutor from Europe named Francis Mansilla. His first care was to have the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the Ave Maria translated into the language of the people; his next to commit them to memory. He then commenced his visitation of the different villages. Twice a day, by the sound of a bell, he called the inhabitants together, repeated to them what he had learnt himself, and exhorted them by his interpreters to listen so as to remember it, and, when they had done so, to go home and teach the words to their families and to their neighbours. The people soon learnt to follow him in his repetition, and readily professed a belief in every article of the creed as he separately pronounced it. By such means, together with baptism, "he made many Christians," but he found reason afterwards to doubt whether they so much as understood what they had professed to believe, as they had been commencing their repetition of his words in the creed with "*volo*" instead of "*credo*." However, they were gladly reckoned Christians by the Romish Church, and there is no reason to think they were inferior to the generality of her converts among the heathen. But Xavier had too much Christianity in his own heart to allow him to be satisfied with such converts. However he had got the measure of truth he possessed, he did not know how to communicate it, and so it is no wonder that, although he ever retained a pitying love for these poor Romanised Paravars, he soon turned to seek for better success, not only in other districts, but among Hindus of a very different class.

His next effort was directed towards the Kings and princes of India, in the hope of their influence and example being the means of nations being born in a day. But here again he was doomed to disappointment. For several months he remained at one spot, seeking to obtain an interview with a sovereign whom he called "the great king of

**His attempt
to influence the
native princes.**

Travancore," and who was probably no other than the Rajah of Bisnaghur, whose extensive dominions we have already noticed. But neither Kings nor Brahmins would own the sway of the apostle of Rome. However, Xavier gained something by these negotiations for his poor friends on the south-east coast. They had suffered grievously since he left them, from the incursions of a people spoken of as the Badages, who were probably the army of the great king which collected his royal dues from the fifty-six turbulent kingdoms which owed him allegiance. They had vowed the destruction of the Paravar Christians, and attempted it with too much success. Xavier flew to their relief, a work most congenial to his generous nature, and by his timely help, and wise arrangements, together with such influence as the "King of Travancore" could exercise over his lawless soldiery, they were restored to some measure of comfort and safety. Failing with the great, Xavier had no alternative while he remained in India but to continue his labours among the poor; and he did this in his usual spirit of zeal, tenderness, and superstition, in different parts of southern India, between Goa, and the district of the Paravar fishermen. In Travancore especially he made a great number of converts, and it is of his visits to that kingdom that one passage in his letters asserts that he baptised 10,000 heathen within the space of one month. The fact, however, that this statement occurs in only one of his letters, while four others were written at the same date, of which one was to Ignatius Loyola, and another to the King of Portugal, makes it very doubtful whether Xavier was the writer of the passage in question. The extravagant and shameless manner in which his panegyrists have invented experiences and miracles to do him honour makes it far from improbable that some other hand than his inserted these high-sounding

Xavier
succours the
poor Paravara.

Questionable
statistics of
baptisms.

statistics. Moreover, the "very many Christians" of whom Xavier does speak as the fruit of this visit he acknowledges to have been the converts of a native Christian, who accompanied him, rather than his own, for he recommends this man to his friend, Mansilla, as one who "knew perfectly the manners of the people, and the means and precautions which it was necessary to take with them," and charges him to do as he himself had done in following his advice, and letting him do whatever he judged to be expedient.

But the Apostle of Rome, notwithstanding these successes, was longing to **Xavier's disappointment** leave India. He was disappointed in the **in India.** natives, both kings and fishermen, and disgusted with his own countrymen, whom he called "the filth of the human race." He expressed to Mansilla an intense desire to turn his back upon the land where he had expected to live and die, and to sail away to Ethiopia; but one hope detained him a little while. The native Christians of Manaar, a small island near to Ceylon, had been cruelly persecuted by their heathen king, and hundreds of them had been put to death. Xavier, who had always one hand for politics, and a heart for sympathy, threw himself eagerly into the matter, not to console the sufferers by the Word of God, and such aid as he had obtained for the Paravars, but to punish the rajah of Jaffnapatam by the fleet and army of the viceroy. His heart burned with indignation and hope, for he considered this a time for the destruction of the wicked, and for the building up of a Christian kingdom. The expedition was rapidly planned, and Xavier hastened again to the south, to be ready to enter the door which the sword of Portugal would open. But what was done in worldly wisdom for the cause of Christ was frustrated by the worldly wisdom of others. The seizure by the offending king of a Portuguese vessel with a rich cargo put an end to the expedition; for the governor preferred peace, and the recovery of his goods, to a doubtful war with an

apostolic benediction. Xavier now hastened away from India. It had no further attractions for him, and he persuaded himself that it no longer required his services. His letter written from Amboyna, in the eastern seas, says he had taken care that the Comorin Christians should have no lack of spiritual aid, and that those of Ceylon, not far from Cape Comorin, were "admirably instructed by two Franciscaus, and as many priests." "Other native Christians," he adds, "who are in the Portuguese cities, are instructed by the means of the bishops. As soon as I perceived that my labours were not at all needed in India, I went to St. Thomé on my way to Macassar." It is very striking that in this apology for leaving India, Xavier makes no mention at all of the work of evangelising the heathen, and this silence agrees well with a passage which occurs in one of his letters written at a later period—"Believe me, trust my experience, all our ministry to this nation reduces itself to two capital points—the baptism of children, and their instruction as soon as they are capable of it."

**He leaves India,
and satisfies
himself that he
is no longer
wanted.**

His labours elsewhere than in India do not come within the limits of our subject. For nearly two years and a half he travelled throughout the Chinese Archipelago, doing little more, according to his own account, than "searching through all the localities of the Christians" who had been made by earlier missionaries, confirming these in what they already believed, "baptising very many infants," and establishing the influence of the Jesuits wherever it was possible. He returned to Goa in 1548, again disappointed; for the inducement to make this long voyage had been the reports which he had heard of the readiness of the islanders to receive Christianity, and of the conversion and baptism of two heathen kings. The character in which he chiefly appears during the period of his second stay in India, which extended to fifteen months,

**His voyage
among the
Eastern Islands.**

is that of a general superintendent of missions, and a commissioner of the king of Portugal. We gather from his letters that he exercised over all Jesuits in India an authority as unlimited as that of Loyola over the whole Society. He planted and supplanted men as he pleased, and enjoined upon them constantly the Jesuit duty of implicit obedience. At the same time his authority was always exercised with such courtesy and tenderness as to prevent all suspicion of pride and self-seeking. Besides the missionaries of other Roman Catholic orders, there were now more than twenty Jesuits who had entered upon the Indian field of labour. These were not all settled on the mainland of India, but were distributed by Xavier among the principal stations held by the Portuguese in the eastern seas. By his authority at this time the Jesuits acquired for their Indian mission that pre-eminence which they held with characteristic skill and tenacity until Rome herself became ashamed of their enormities. The influence which he possessed in secular matters, through the friendship of the king of Portugal, Xavier used as freely as his ecclesiastical powers. He gave directions regarding the trade of the pearl fisheries, and recommended to royal favour persons of various classes, from the poor priest to the governor, whom he thought worthy of promotion, and threatened with punishment, which he was fully able to execute, those who were of a different character.

**His work as
Head of Romish
Missions in the
East.**

Very soon after his return from his long voyage among the islands, Japan became the great object of attention to Xavier, and he embarked for that country in the summer of 1549. No event in his missionary life is invested with such true interest as this; none has so much appearance of the Divine approval and arrangement. Here we have, to all appearance, a true convert to Christ brought out of heathenism by means of Romish missionaries or traders, and then leading and

**Interest in
Japan. The
Japanese con-
vert Anger.**

accompanying one of the former to his native land, that they might together pour the few rays of light which they possessed upon its darkness. This convert was a Japanese gentleman named Anger, who had killed a man in Japan, and had left his home as much from distress of conscience as from fear of discovery and punishment. A Portuguese merchant, from whom he sought help and counsel, advised him to go with him to Malacca, where Xavier was supposed to be labouring. The Japanese readily assented, and according to his own account, received so much Christian instruction from the merchant by the way, that he was ready, had circumstances allowed, to be baptised on his arrival at Malacca. He was disappointed, however, in his expectation of finding Xavier, and therefore attempted to return to his own country. But after being within sight of land, a violent storm drove him back to the port from which he had sailed in China, and there he was found by two Portuguese, one of whom was his earliest friend, and was advised by them to turn again towards Malacca. This time Xavier was found, and the Japanese was at once joined to him in a lasting friendship. They proceeded to Goa, where Anger received such further Christian instruction as the Church of Rome could give, including at least the gospel of Matthew, which he learnt by heart, and where he, and his servant who accompanied him, were afterwards baptised. The letter in which this Japanese convert gave an account of himself to the Jesuit Society at Rome is very interesting, and presents a contrast in its Scriptural simplicity to many of the epistles of his teachers, especially to the manual of instruction which Xavier must have written about the same time for the native converts he was again about to leave. The latter is characterised by the grossest superstition, and some of the most absurd of the fables of Rome, while the letter of the Japanese, which is of considerable length, contains not one word, excepting the names of persons and places connected with the Romish Church, which might not

have been written by an intelligent Protestant convert. One passage will show satisfactorily that this one heathen at least may be reckoned to have been led into the fold of Christ, whatever was his connection with an apostate church—"Now that God, the Creator of all things, and Jesus Christ who died on the cross for our salvation, have thus furthered our undertaking, we trust that all may turn out to His glory and for the propagation of the catholic faith. I am every day more and more convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, both by the many mercies which God has lately granted me, and by the deep peace which I experience through my whole soul." With this companion,—honest and zealous like himself—and four others, Xavier entered upon his mission to Japan.

Again our subject forbids us to to follow him into the details of his success and failure, but we may notice that he had more than usual experience of the former, the first harvest being from among the relatives and acquaintances of Anger; and that often, as far as we can judge, by no other means than by communicating doctrine, and sometimes by the help of diplomacy and presents to a native king from the Portuguese viceroy, considerable numbers were led to a profession of Christianity and the rite of baptism. These were greatly increased in numbers by missionaries who followed in Xavier's footsteps, so that when persecution broke out on account of the new faith, the Christians were strong enough to maintain the struggle for forty years, and when, after that time, in 1637, the emperor, like the catholic king of France, ordered a general massacre of his dissenting subjects, 37,000 of them are said to have fallen at once. But of all this great numerical success, a very small share must be attributed to Xavier. He was never able to speak the language without an interpreter, and when, at a later period, he was preparing to enter China, where he might reasonably have expected a similar result, he

**Xavier's
visit to
Japan.**

said, "I shall succeed in opening it for others, since I myself effect nothing."

Xavier was two years and three months in Japan, and he returned to India in January, 1552, after an absence of nearly three years. It was his last sojourn in

**His return to
India, and
last sojourn
there.**

India—a short and a painful one. In less than three months he was on his way to China, more glad than ever, no doubt, to escape from a land where he had been so bitterly disappointed both in the heathen and in his own countrymen, and where, on this last occasion, he had experienced the heaviest grief of all, in the scandalous behaviour of the only men in whom his confidence had hitherto remained unshaken, his fellow-associates of the society of Jesus. He desired to make his voyage to China a political embassy, and for this purpose, making free use of his influence with the king of Portugal, he took with him a merchant in the character of an ambassador. The reason for this arrangement was that all foreigners were forbidden to enter China on pain of death. But the governor of Malacca, the successor and brother to one who had always befriended Xavier, spoilt his plan, seizing upon the ship and forbidding the enterprise. Xavier had no alternative but to abandon the mission or to go alone. With true courage, though with questionable wisdom, he chose the latter course; but neither the crown of martyrdom, nor the honour of a successful ministry awaited him in China. He died on the Island of Sancian, within sight of the land he was not permitted to reach.

**Death of
Xavier.**

The circumstances of Xavier's end remind us of the death of Henry Martyn. Alone in the midst of the heathen, in wretched cabins, where soul and body sympathised in the absence of every comfort, and on the threshold of the land they had toiled in love to reach, each of these men of missionary fame breathed

**Some comparison between
Xavier and
Martyn.**

out his spirit into the bosom of God. And the death scenes are not the only ones in which we see a resemblance between Martyn and Xavier. It is true there must ever be contrast between a missionary who in his testimony knows "no man save Jesus only," and one who preaches, together with Jesus, as many intercessors as the idols of the heathen. Yet, as we have seen, there is abundant reason to believe that Xavier's heart was true to God, and that the faults of his character and of his ministry arose from no want of devotedness, but from the influence of the apostate Church, which failed to pervert more completely the servant of whom she was unworthy. Xavier was educated at Paris, Martyn at Cambridge; the fetters of the former were rivetted by the fascination of Loyola, the liberty of the latter was consecrated by the ministry of Simeon. That Xavier, in Henry Martyn's circumstances, would have been a less noble example than he of missionary service and self-sacrifice we cannot say. From the time when he first gave himself to the work, believing that he was called to it by God, there was no going back, no abatement of his self-denying zeal till he breathed his last within sight of China. Disappointment there was, and in consequence frequent changes of effort and of purpose; and the charge of inconstancy has thus, with some reason, been preferred against him. But we would rather see such apparent inconstancy, which showed the dissatisfaction of his heart with the work which was all Rome could enable him to do, than that courage and perseverance which distinguished later missionaries of his order, who settled for thirty or forty years in one spot, absorbed and contented with the labour of turning Hindus from the idolatries of India to the idolatries of Rome.

In considering the character of Xavier as it appears from his labours, we have only seen the evil which resulted from the superstitions of his church, and the good

Further consideration of the character of Xavier.

which the man possessed in contrast with that church. One or two points, however, remain to be noticed before we can form a right estimate of the greatest of Romish missionaries. During the whole of his life in India he was protected by the power of the State, and armed with its worldly weapons. He was the commissioner of the king of Portugal, the legate of the Pope, the representative of Ignatius, and the intimate friend of all. And these powers were no mere honours paid to the zealous champion of the Church. They were intended to be used over the bodies and souls of men to coerce them to the truth, and for this purpose Xavier gladly accepted and constantly used them. It may be true that when he sailed from Portugal, the guest of the Viceroy, he declined all the comforts that were liberally provided for him, and fared more meanly than the meanest on board. This was quite in accordance with the character of the man. But what Xavier would not use for himself, he would use with all freedom and earnestness for the cause of the Church, and, as he would think, for the cause of Christ. And so we find him reproving, rebuking, exhorting, not with all long-suffering and doctrine, but with stern threats of punishment by the arm of the State. Thus the Portuguese Governor of Tuticorin, whom Xavier regarded, no doubt with reason, as a hinderer of Christianity, was threatened by him with "the utmost rigours of the Inquisition"; and the Head-men of professing Christian villages were exhorted to morality of life under pain of being carried in chains to Cochin, and suffering perpetual banishment. But we would qualify the censure which some have passed upon these proceedings of Xavier, by suggesting that there is, or should be, such a thing as discipline—which implies punishment—in the Church, and that the confusion of secular and ecclesiastical powers, and the reckoning of all worthless professors, and of whole nations, as Christians, created a difficulty in the administration of discipline, which could not have been

solved by anything less than the condemnation of the hoary system which was the recognised Christianity of the world.

Moreover, liberty of conscience was a thing unknown and unprofessed in Christendom in Xavier's century. If men dissented from Rome, and millions did so, they did not dissent from her principles of uniformity and coercion, but from her corruptions in life and doctrine, and her extravagances of cruelty. And when they had power themselves they used it, in milder forms of persecution, against all who differed from them. Thus William Prince of Orange and founder of the Dutch Republic was charged with culpable laxity, and even suspected of atheism, because he judged, in opposition to his Protestant countrymen, that every one should be free to worship God according to his own conscience. It is sad indeed to have to associate the name of Xavier with the hellish tribunal of the Inquisition, but it is a happy and interesting circumstance that his tenderness and generosity of character shine out conspicuously in his intercourse with the very man whom he had threatened with its horrors. The Governor of Tuticorin shared the fate of the poor pearl fishers of Cape Comorin, being reduced to the greatest extremities by an invasion of the Badages. Xavier no sooner hears of his distress than he writes with the greatest urgency to his fellow-worker, Mansilla, to "fly to his relief." There is as much anxiety and sympathy and wise considerateness in this letter, the subject of which is his bitter enemy and the enemy of religion, as there is when he is describing the sufferings under similar circumstances of those who were his children in the faith. After giving minute directions regarding the assistance to be rendered immediately to the Governor, Xavier adds, "I would go myself if I could believe that my arrival would be agreeable to the Governor; but he lately renounced my friendship, writing letters full of atrocious complaints, in which, among other things, he asserted that he could not

even mention without scandal the wickedness which had been reported to him concerning me. God and men know whether I ever did him any evil, especially such as he cannot speak of without scandal; but this is not the time for vindicating myself or complaining of his conduct. As to our present business, it is sufficient to know that he has such feelings towards me that I ought, for his own sake, to avoid meeting him, lest I should add to the grief of a man in his misfortune, and, by the sight of one whom he hates, increase a calamity already sufficiently great." Such a letter as this is alone sufficient to establish the nobility of Xavier's character. Those who understand the greatness and the rareness of Christian charity, will know how to estimate it. Had the Pope and the cardinals, who seventy years afterwards put Xavier's name in the calendar of saints, remembered how much better such a characteristic was than speaking with the tongues of men and of angels, they might have found a respectable excuse for canonising their missionary without shamelessly fastening upon him a reputation for miraculous gifts which contradicts all the testimony of his letters regarding himself.

To conclude our remarks on Francis Xavier, we may notice in a few words what he did in India. He baptised very many converts to Rome, but for the most part they were those who before his arrival had bargained to adopt the Portuguese religion on condition of receiving Portuguese protection. Sometimes he had influence among the heathen, as in one case where he baptised a whole village in consequence of the impression made by the recovery of a woman who seemed to be dying in her confinement, and for whom he prayed; but no second instance like this, as far as we know, occurred in India. He rebuked and exhorted his own countrymen with much faithfulness, especially the great among them, and set before them the example of a pure and self-denying

**Summary of
his work in
India.**

life. He opened the way for the Jesuits in the East, and obtained for them pre-eminence among all the missionaries of Rome. For this last part of his work he would not now obtain either credit or thanks from Roman Catholics or Protestants. His influence over his own countrymen, in checking their immorality, there is reason to fear was but slight and transitory; and his converts among the heathen were such as to cause him to despair of India and of all missionary labour, and to propose to his sovereign to make the conversion of the idolators the business of the officers of the State. While, therefore, there is much that claims our admiration and sympathy in the character and life of Xavier, there is little that remains in the searching hand of truth to justify the boastful praise which Rome has lavished on her greatest apostle.

Let us now turn again for a few moments to Europe. For as the missions abroad were always in communication with the church at home, and as the life and strength of the former were constantly supplied by the men and briefs received from the popes, the successive phases and the history of the Papacy in Europe cannot be irrelevant to an account of its labours among the heathen. The true character of Roman Catholicism comes out more clearly under the high pressure of European politics than when a number of individuals are seeking with worldly wisdom to recommend its system to nations of other religions. Moreover the followers of Ignatius Loyola, of whom Xavier is too good an example, begin now so to crowd upon the scene of Indian missions that we want to know something more about their character as a Society, and the events which made them necessary to the Roman Catholic Church. They were one of the greatest phenomena of the sixteenth century, and the salvation of the Papacy.

The last view we had of Europe was in the pontificate of Alexander VI., whose bull was the authority of the

**A view of
Europe and the
Papacy, after
the pontificate
of Alexander VI.**

earliest Portuguese missionaries. We would now rapidly trace the history of Rome from that date to the time at which we have arrived in India, where those veteran troops who had saved the popes are already beginning to show that the followers of Loyola are not followers of Xavier, and who, with the greatest profession of obedience, will presently assume as bold an independence as Luther, and carry their only authority within themselves in the will of their superior. Julius II. had succeeded "the infamous Borgia;" ferocity personified following the representative of lust. Leo X. was the next great shepherd of the Roman Church, a man of pleasure, and something very like an atheist; a patron of philosophers, but still more of buffoons; distinguished for the blending in his court of paganism and catholicism, and for the sale to the credulous world without of the right to commit the sins which the heads of the church indulged in without expense. This was the pope who was opposed to Luther, not a likely antagonist to conquer Divine truth and German obstinacy. There was hope for the papacy under Adrian VI—hope of prolonged existence, for cure was impossible, as that honest pope seemed to know, when he complained that the disease was in the head, and spread thence throughout the whole body. But Rome would not be saved, if salvation meant nauseous medicines and moderation in sins; and so Adrian died having effected nothing save gaining the hatred of his church and the respect of his enemies. Yet though Rome was glad to bury Adrian, there were those in the church who saw that the alternative was reformation or destruction, and who set themselves in the next pontificate to try to cleanse the Augean stables. But their efforts were in vain, and the next pontiff, Clement VII., was not the man to help them. The Capuchins strove to exorcise the demon of heresy by self-inflicted mortifications and midnight vigils, but it continued to defy them. The Theatines, more practical, and in many points strongly resembling the Jesuits who followed them, went

into the battle under the generalship of Gaetana da Thiene and Caraffa, and did good service in a spirit of courage and asceticism. But Rome was not cleansed, and the voice of the Theatines was lost in the din of other arms than those of Luther. Clement would fight like an earthly prince, and like an earthly prince he fell. The soldiers of Germany crossed the Alps, sacked Rome, and besieged the pope in the Castle of St. Angelo. The moral effect of this fall was felt throughout Europe. Clement, who could turn with the wind, made peace with his conqueror, and hoped to retrieve his fortunes ; but craft deceived him, and he fell more heavily than before, this time with the loss of England. These political difficulties, with the graver ones of religion, he bequeathed, after twelve years' reign, to his successor, Paul III., a less moral man, by repute, than himself, and a slave to astrology. Paul was forced by his helplessness to call a general council, and, in his desperate circumstances, determined in some sense to reform himself and his court. A commission to investigate abuses, with Caraffa as a leading spirit, painted the papal portrait with no flattering hand, and the horrible diseases of the church. The church listened to its report, but winced and recoiled, and decided that the time had not come for such strong measures as Caraffa proposed, and pleaded the extent of the disease as a reason for more gentle treatment. Thus this last effort failed, all the resources of Rome having been tried in vain on her behalf except one, which she knew not, and of which the spirit only was yet in existence. The unknown reserve was Ignatius and his Jesuits.

The fortunes of Rome had never been at so low an ebb since she had assumed the triple crown as they were when Ignatius stepped forward as her champion. The revival of learning as the earthly means, and God Himself as the spiritual power, had waked up millions from the bosom of the ignorant and sensual church. The Reformation spread throughout Europe,

Low state of the
Papacy which
made the oppor-
tunity for
Ignatius Loyola.

everything that was good and true, if only secular, striking a blow for it against the tottering Papacy. Rome had no arms to withstand these assaults. She thundered, but her lightnings were harmless to most of her enemies. She had reigned as the queen of darkness, but darkness was flying before the light. Knowledge had penetrated not into Germany and England only, but into Italy itself, and some popes and cardinals had played with the novelty, strangely ignorant or forgetful that knowledge meant heresy, and heresy meant revolt. Had Rome possessed knowledge to meet the knowledge of the Reformers, and an appearance of morality to rival their morality, the battle might have been equal; but such weapons were not to be found in her armoury, nor did it seem likely that any one could furnish her with them. But the Jesuits brought her these and more, and by the genius of Ignatius Loyola communicated life and energy to the palsied and moribund Papacy. We have already seen Ignatius at Paris, gathering to himself the choicest fruits of its university. With these he presented himself to Paul III., and was accepted; not, however, as the founder of a new order, or as General of the Jesuits; for Ignatius, though he had made his plans three years before, was too wise to startle the Pope and to make enemies by proposing a new order of monkhood at the very time when half Europe was in arms against those already in existence. He offered himself and his friends to the service of the Pope, to preach in public, and teach children, taking no pay, but living on alms, lodging in hospitals and seeking God only. Three years' trial satisfied the Pope, so that in September, 1540, he established the order of the Jesuits, and in 1543 he removed the restrictions with which he had qualified the first charter. The growth of the Society from the beginning was prodigiously rapid. When it was three years old it contained eighty members, *the greatest number which was contemplated by the first*

*Rise and
progress of the
Jesuits.*

bull of Paul III being sixty. Three years more sufficed to create ten Jesuit establishments in various parts of the world, and another period of the same length increased the number to twenty-two. The Society was not seven years old before it was the chief power in Catholic Christendom, the object of curiosity and admiration to all ranks of society, courted by kings and learned men, and manifestly indispensable to the Pope. The Jesuits earned their fame: they were no mere favourites chosen by caprice. They offered to do a great work, and they did more than they said. They stirred Europe and the world for the Papacy; stirred it, not as St. Dominic or Peter the Hermit had done, but as it never had been stirred before or could have been by any but the children of Ignatius. Their weapons were not papal bulls and flaming faggots, although they had a place for these; nor were they the words of enthusiasm, although enthusiasm was not wanting. They fought by intellect, and learning, and craft which even the sixteenth century with its new found strength—century of Luther and Erasmus, of letters and of Protestantism—was unable to conquer. The Council of Trent gave Ignatius an early opportunity of showing the world the value of his Jesuits. Two of the Society attended as the special defenders of the interests of the Pope. Protestant truth appears in some measure to have illumined the Augustinian monks, the old associates of Luther, for their General attempted to demonstrate to the Council something like the Reformer's doctrine on the subject of Justification. But the learning and eloquence of the Jesuit champion, Laynez—the former of which appears in the account we have of it absolutely super-human—overwhelmed all opposition, and re-established the old Christ-dishonouring doctrines of Rome. Laynez fell ill with his labours, and the Council, astonished, admiring, and grateful—while the world waited impatiently for its decisions—suspended its business until the Jesuit's recovery.

Equal prodigies were being performed on other fields

by this devoted band. They were everywhere in Europe, and in Africa, America, and India besides. Their schools grew into colleges, their colleges into universities. At Coimbra alone, in 1551, they were moulding 150 students. The year following, the Rector of Salamanca university preferred a place in their novitiate to one in the college of cardinals, and high-born and learned men—among them Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia—had long preceded him. In the midst of all the stir, the fame, and the labour, side by side with the Roman pontiff stood Ignatius Loyola, the man of boundless ambition yet imperturbable calm, governing as never pope or emperor the forces which he had created; directing and controlling, by his gigantic mind and will, the energies of all his Jesuits in every corner of the earth. The forces of Loyola were those which above all others strove to establish Roman Catholicism among the heathen. Rome has had no missionaries in the East who for earnestness, perseverance, and abilities, can stand a comparison with the Jesuits. It is therefore important to our subject briefly to enquire what a Jesuit is, as distinguished from other missionaries and other men. He is **A Jesuit as a man and as a missionary.** a picked man to begin with. Great as are the influences that are brought to bear upon him when he submits himself to Jesuit training, he must have evident talent, to be developed and directed by that training. Wealth, nobility, good manners and appearance—everything that tells in the world—is valued and sought for, but it will scarcely be accepted without talent, and certainly not without malleability. The unequalled personal influence of Ignatius in the first place, and the hold which his followers quickly obtained, by their training establishments, over the minds of the young, made his choice of good materials easy. But it was not his choice of men, but his training of those who were chosen that displayed most clearly the genius of *Ignatius*, and that accounts for the strength of his .

society. Ignatius was an enthusiast, at least in the beginning of his course; but he was far more of a schemer. He nearly killed himself at Manreza in his desperate efforts to surpass the fakirs of the desert in their frightful asceticism; but when he had recovered from these mortifications and the season of delirium that followed, he had the ability to collect the experiences of both, and to weave from them a system of mental education which he called "spiritual exercises," and which, if it put the most learned Frenchman of the day mad, broke the wills and governed the spirits of thousands, and attached them, with a power which no other human system has possessed, to one another and to their general.

It would be out of place to discuss here the "spiritual exercises" of Ignatius, or the "Constitutions" of his Society, which were the other great means of bringing into the world that almost indescribable class of beings so well known and feared under the name of "Jesuits." But we may notice that the chief characteristic of the former, which consisted in a course of meditations on the principal subjects of Christian doctrine as taught by the Church of Rome, was its power of impressing the senses with things which are wholly spiritual, and so of appearing to triumph over nature, and to lead men into perfection, when in truth their hearts were altogether unchanged; while the effect of the latter was to produce and to strengthen continually a desperate selfishness, which defied or explained away every law human or divine that barred its progress, but of which the self was not the individual man, but the Society in which he was taught to forget his individuality.

**Chief
characteristics
of the
"Spiritual
Exercises"
and the
"Constitutions."**

Thus, in the new phase of Catholicism there was much outward morality, and what the world mistook for holiness, while the volcano of human depravity was

**Power
necessarily
possessed by
the new Order.**

burning within ; and there was much labour and patience and suffering in the name of God and of the supposed head of his Church, with the one real motive of glorifying the order of the Jesuits. No wonder, then, that 20,000 of these men, carefully chosen and skilfully educated, bound together by common training and common separation in heart from all but the new self of their Society, should do great things, and should even govern the world for a time. No wonder, either, that such a system of self-deception should break down in some notable instances, and, as in the mission field of China and India, and in every country in Europe, the men who were the right arm of the Papacy and the idols of their Church should become objects of universal execration for utter apostacy and intolerable crimes.

This brief sketch may call to mind the general character of the Society, which in the middle of the sixteenth century supplied and directed the energies of the Romish Church, and whose bands of missionaries were by that time treading quickly in the path of Xavier, and passing to the front and to every post of command and responsibility in India, China, Japan, and all the colonies of the East. Yet they were not all bad men ; the memory of Xavier forbids us to think so : and there were others who were honest as he was, especially those who joined him in his Japanese expedition, and Gaspar Barzans, the Belgian, whose preaching during a short residence at Goa is said to have produced a powerful impression on the Portuguese. We may reasonably hope that there was a spark of spiritual life in these men, and that they were the means, notwithstanding their delusions, of kindling such a spark in the minds of some heathen. But no doubt they were rare exceptions. The story of Jesuitism in India and China, if we must allow it a place at all, is one of the very darkest pages in the history of Christianity.

**Exceptions to
the general
bad character
of the Society.**

A leading peculiarity of the Jesuit constitutions was the absolute and blind obedience which they required all members of the Society to yield to their superiors, and this, together with the regular and frequent "manifestations of conscience" which they demanded, and the secrets of which were all transmitted to the General for practical use, promised a perpetual cohesion in the Society, and an absence of all rebellion. But this promise was quickly broken, at least in India. Rebellion in Europe, under the eye of Loyola, was, perhaps, impossible. His influence seemed irresistible, and his anger, when once roused, was terrible. But India was far from Italy; and although Loyola had his eye upon the distant mission field, and knew well how to deal with instances of disobedience, it was long before such could be reported to him, and before his lash could reach the offender. When Xavier left India for Japan, he transferred the greater part of his authority to a Jesuit named Paul Camerti, who was rector of the college at Goa. But he reserved for another Jesuit, Antonio Gomez, "full and absolute power over the novices of the seminary, with the entire management of the revenue and property of the College." Xavier had too good an opinion of his fellow-Jesuits. In communicating his arrangement to Camerti, he wrote, "From my intimate acquaintance with all the labourers of the Society of Jesus, who serve God and the church in these regions, I am of opinion that they do not need any ruler to guide them in the ways of God; nevertheless, in order that they may not lose the opportunity of gaining additional merit by obedience, and since strict discipline requires it, I think it expedient that they should have some one to whom they may pay obedience." Vows are easily broken, even by those who have been subdued by the "spiritual exercises;" and the "constitutions" themselves, with their substitution of expediency for principle, and justification of everything which a Jesuit could think for the good of the Society, or "the greater

Failure of
the system in
India.

glory of God," taught every member of the Society the way to break them. Moreover, this division of power in India was a serious error, and a very singular one for an associate of Ignatius Loyola to have committed, as it was plainly contrary to the main idea of his strong military government. The result was disastrous to the Society. During Xavier's long absence the two rulers quarrelled, and the more self-willed, Antonio Gomez, transformed the missionary college at Goa into a training establishment of Jesuits, and afterwards removing to Cochin, he expelled the Franciscans from their college in that place, with a view of appropriating it to the same purpose. Xavier's return, however, stopped his proceedings, and the refractory Jesuit was banished from India, and perished at sea on the way to his place of imprisonment.

**Xavier's
mistake.**

After chastising several other offenders, Xavier showed that he had profited by experience, and before leaving for China, he did what Ignatius himself would have done, and appointed Gaspar Barzæus, who had hitherto been stationed at Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, to the undivided command of all the Jesuits east of the Cape of Good Hope. Barzæus very soon died, and Xavier did not survive him. What arrangements and what labours followed, history very scantily informs us, and it is not worth our while dwelling longer on the monotonous details. The character and the work of the first Jesuits in their efforts among the heathen are indicated with sufficient plainness by the facts which we have noticed. It is interesting, however, to know that even the "Apostle of India" was not uncensured in his labours. The stern spirit of Ignatius was dissatisfied with his reasons for leaving India, and at the time of his death he was under a peremptory order to return to Europe with all possible speed, and in the mean time to send home one of his associates to undergo the examination of the

**He rectifies it
on leaving the
country for
China.**

**Recall of
Xavier by
Ignatius.**

General. Xavier never received this order. He went to render his account to God, instead of doing so to the man who had usurped His place.

While Xavier was baptising his thousands of heathen, and growing up to the stature of a missionary saint and hero, other hands were working not less diligently than his to crown the Pope and to glorify Rome in another field of labour. It was not to be expected that Roman Catholics from Europe—Roman Catholics of the sixteenth century—should be content to dwell side by side with independent Christians who knew nothing of the Pope, of transubstantiation, or purgatory. To look for such a thing would have been as unreasonable as to expect that, in the present age of the world, “the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid.” For forty years, indeed, the Portuguese appear to have left the Syrian Church unmolested; but this could only have been because their hands were fully occupied in establishing and maintaining themselves in the country, or because the Christians at Malabar, with their 40,000 fighting men, were too large a prey to be openly and hastily attacked. But a truce is not peace; and so, as soon as Rome was strong enough, she set herself to the necessary business of annexing the Syrian Church. Don Juan d’Albuquerque—the bishop of Goa—who received Xavier in India, and the first who held that office—commenced the operations of the Romish Church against the Syrians. He was a Franciscan, and the Franciscans had much to do with the missions of the century, and would have had more but that the Jesuits came in everywhere and supplanted them. Don Juan sent a monk of his own order named Francis, in 1545, to visit the southern and more respectable branch of the Malabar Christians, and to induce them, if possible, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. The friar took up his abode at Cranganore,

Commencement of the attack upon the Syrian Church.

First effort by means of the Franciscans.

and was encouraged by the courtesy and friendliness of the Syrians, who opened their churches to him and gave him full liberty to preach. But no converts attested the power of his preaching, although Roman Catholic authorities speak highly of his persuasive eloquence; and the old historian Geddes shrewdly inquires how it happened that this father, of whom we hear little afterwards, possessed in his *first year* in India so much greater power than Xavier, since he laid no claim to a miraculous gift of tongues. The Syrians, finding the Franciscan was an enemy, continued to go their own way and civilly left him to his; and as he had even erected churches in their city, to teach them the right style for such sacred buildings, they were probably cast empty upon his hands. But all the servants of Rome know how to wait when they cannot strike; and so the friar, by permission from Goa, founded a college, and set himself to the task of making Romish priests out of Syrian youths. Education is always a tempting bait, and as the Franciscan, no doubt, taught freely, it is not to be wondered at that some poor Malabar Christians were found as unwise as thousands of English Protestants at the present day, and although they would no longer listen to the friar's preaching, were willing to accept his lessons for their sons. Whatever else he taught them, Father Francis took care they should learn the language and ritual of Rome, and when this was accomplished they were ordained priests and intended to convert their countrymen. The Syrians, however, were not prepared for such sudden conversion. They gave up their Romanised sons rather than their liberty, and the Franciscan found the fruits of his college a company of apostate Syrians who could in no way further his work. After this experience Father Francis appears to have despaired of success, and to have abandoned the field to more subtle and persevering labourers. The Jesuits read the lessons of his failure, took up his tools, and went to work in their

*Attempt of
the Jesuits.*

own way. The college was a good thought, the Latin dress and language bad ; and so the men who knew better than any others how to trim to the times, set up a new college about three miles out of Cranganore, and let it be known that they would teach without invading the time-honoured language of the Syrians or altering the dress of their students. By this means another hopeful opportunity was gained. Students came in and submitted to Jesuit influence for the sake of Jesuit learning. But when the fathers sought the results of their labours they were very small. Indeed, they were more dishonourably defeated than their predecessor ; for while the Franciscan was foiled by the elders of the Christian community, the Jesuits were outwitted by the lads themselves, who took what they could get, and then prayed for the patriarch of Babylon, and maintained the opinions of their ancient church in the very faces of their Romish teachers. This would perhaps have staggered other men, but Jesuits are not like other men. As Napoleon said of our countrymen on the field of battle, "They don't know when they are beaten"; and so they were not long in trying stronger measures for success. The Syrian bishop appeared to be the great hindrance to the work of proselytism. He possessed vast influence over the Christians of Malabar, governing them in all civil as well as ecclesiastical matters, and therefore having more the dignity of a pope in his diocese than that of a simple bishop. This made it necessary that he should sooner or later be taken out of the way, to make room for the Roman pontiff. It seemed probable, too, that if he were removed at once, some of his people would submit in his absence to their self-elected teachers. The Jesuits had no excuse for laying hands on an innocent man, and the venerable head of an independent church ; but such a difficulty has ever been a small one to Rome, and to her Jesuits in particular. With them, might is right ; and there was might enough in the Portuguese viceroy, and

in the Jesuit influence which governed him, to cause the Syrian bishop to be seized at Cochin, and carried away to Portugal. But, for the third time, the emissaries of Rome were outwitted by the simpler Syrians. Mar Joseph, whom they probably supposed to be lodged in a dungeon of the Inquisition, or at least to be separated by many thousand miles from his flock, soon and suddenly reappeared in Malabar, a greater man ecclesiastically, if a less one morally, than he had left it. He had turned his visit to Portugal to his own account, and so ingratiated himself with the Regent and the Infanta by his affectation of sanctity and professed belief in all that was of the Church of Rome, that they had sent him back with honour to his bishopric, thus recognising his ordination by the Babylonish patriarch. However, there is reason to believe that Mar Joseph was really in a great measure Romanised before his involuntary visit to Europe. The heads of the Syrian Church in the sixteenth century appear to have been, with few exceptions, distinguished for unfaithfulness, moral cowardice, and ambition, which made them ready, on their first contact with Rome, to sell the liberties of their people for a personal consideration. Thus Mar Joseph is said to have been in the habit of visiting the Portuguese at Cochin in order to earn from them the character of a good Catholic, and at the same time to have warned certain youths, whom the latter had introduced to him to be spies upon his conduct, against the favourite Romish doctrine that Mary was the mother of God. This duplicity, instead of strengthening his position, was the first cause of his troubles. It must have weakened his influence over the worthier members of his own church, and it made the opportunity which the Portuguese were seeking against him. Yet this man was not the first in his office who trod this path of shame. In 1549, Xavier wrote to the king of Portugal in the following terms about one who was probably

Seizure and
transportation
of the
Syrian bishop—
Joseph.

the immediate predecessor of Mar Joseph—
 “For forty-five years a certain Armenian bishop, Jacob Abuna by name, has served God and your majesty. He is a man equally dear to God on account of his virtue and his sanctity, yet despised and neglected by your majesty, and by all who have any power in India. God has himself provided for his welfare. He regards us as unworthy of the honour of being employed as instruments for the consolation of his servant. The fathers of the order of St. Francis alone take care of him, and surround him with benevolent attentions which leave nothing wanting. . . . This man is most worthy of the character I give him, because he spares no labour in ministering to the Christians of St. Thomas; and now, in his decrepid age, he most obediently accommodates himself to all the rites and customs of the Church of Rome.” But, however such converts satisfied Xavier, they did not find it so easy to satisfy Don Juan d’Albuquerque; and in spite of the royal favours and compliments with which Mar Joseph returned to India, the bishop of Goa denounced him as a hypocrite to his face. Yet he allowed him to return to his diocese for good strategical reasons. Wily as the Syrians might be, Rome was sure to play the deeper game, and to win at last if wits decided the contest. Mar Joseph got a triumph when his enemies intended his ruin, but that being done they had the skill to make his triumph more useful to themselves than his ruin at that time would have been. It was thus that Don Juan sent him back to his diocese, because he knew that another was there before him, and that the two rival bishops would fight Rome’s battle each against the other. The Syrians, dependent for everything upon their civil and ecclesiastical rulers, as the Jesuits had observed, and despairing of Mar Joseph’s return, had sought another

An early example of Syrian conformity to Rome.

Reception and treatment of Mar Joseph by Don Juan d’Albuquerque.

Schism in the Syrian Church.

bishop from their patriarch at Babylon, and one named Abraham had been consecrated and sent to fill the vacant see. When Mar Joseph returned, Mar Abraham was in his place, and neither had any inclination to retire. A schism was the necessary result. Most of the Syrians stood by the new prelate, because he was as yet unconnected with Rome. But power at any price was the motto of these men, and their eagerness to obtain it was, as usual, in inverse proportion to their worthiness. The weaker applied to the Portuguese for help—to the men who had seized his person that they might ruin his church. The Portuguese were quite willing to accept Mar Joseph as their tool, and at once laid their hands to the work. His rival was put out of the way, as he had been formerly—sent on a compulsory voyage to Europe. But in the accidents of a storm he managed to escape at Mozambique, and to make his way to Mosul, where his patriarch confirmed his title as bishop of Malabar. However, he knew by this time that no Babylonian credentials would command respect from Romish ecclesiastics, and he did not know what it was to put his trust in God; so he thought that the best stroke of worldly wisdom was to go to Rome, submit to the Pope, and receive the bishopric from his hands on the terms which he should dictate. Pius V. was a stern pontiff, and his terms were hard for Mar Abraham. To anyone who had not sacrificed faith and truth to policy they would have been unbearable. He required the Syrian bishop to abjure his ancient creed and to submit to Roman ordination as the conditions of regaining his diocese. As Mar Abraham thought more of being a bishop than of being a Christian, and these were the Pope's terms, he was soon on his way to India with Papal authority. Before he arrived there his

**Mar Joseph
applies to the
Portuguese
for help.**

**Mar Abraham
transported.**

**He goes to
Rome and
submits to the
Pope.**

**Mar Abraham
returns to
India
with Papal
authority.**

rival was gone. Duplicity had deceived him. Thinking himself safe in Malabar he had broken his vows to the court of Portugal and resumed Syrian ways, so the Portuguese seized him a second time, and had him transported to Rome. What became of him there we are not told; but it is easy to imagine, when we remember that the reigning pope was a bigoted and blood-thirsty persecutor, a friend of the Inquisition, and the man who forbade the soldiers of the king of France ever to spare the life of a Huguenot prisoner.

**The last of
Mar Joseph.**

Mar Joseph being finally removed, Mar Abraham might naturally have expected to take quiet possession of the diocese. But the Jesuits and their allies in India were determined to get rid of Syrian bishops, and therefore the authority of the pope availed no more than that of the patriarch of Babylon, and both together were insufficient to keep Mar Abraham out of a Portuguese prison. Thus again events were telling the Syrians the vanity of deceit, and their bishop, in the hands of his persecutors, had time to reflect on his journey to Rome, where he had sold his conscience and his character for—nothing.

**Mar Abraham
put in prison.**

However, he managed to escape, as he had done at Mozambique, and was soon in the midst of his people. There he followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, trying to please all and pleasing none, re-ordaining his priests according to the ritual of Rome, and returning as much as he dared to the doctrines and customs of Syria. The Portuguese were of course enraged, and eager again to lay hold upon him, but he had been twice in their hands, and had learnt to keep out of them. He ventured, notwithstanding, to attend a council at Goa, on receiving a summons from the pope with letters of safe conduct. There, with characteristic facility he promised everything that was required of him, and with characteristic faithlessness, did nothing when he returned home

**He escapes,
and behaves
like his
predecessors.**

except to hold another Romish ordination. This it would be natural for him to do in self-justification, since he had submitted to papal ordination while at Rome. At the same time he wrote to the Chaldean patriarch to assure him that he remained true at heart to the ancient church of Babylon. The weight of years and the anxieties of his position pressing heavily upon him, Mar Abraham, some time after this, begged from the patriarch an assistant, who, in case of his death, might succeed him in the diocese. His wish was granted, but he soon found that he had asked for trouble to himself, and his church. The days of the feud with Mar Joseph were revived. The assistant set himself up as independent bishop; the church was again split in two, and the new and the old prelates anathematised one another, while the Portuguese, and the Jesuits especially, looked on with satisfaction to see their enemies so earnestly doing their work. Mar Abraham, finding himself the weaker of the two, called in the aid of the Europeans, who were always as willing to sell their services as he was to sell himself. They had become adepts at bishop catching, and now for the fourth time they tried it with success. The younger prelate, Simeon, was persuaded by the Franciscans to do as Abraham had done, and seek the patronage of the pope; but fate mocked his folly by giving him the voyage as a prisoner, and leaving him an exile for life in the hands of the men he had unworthily courted. Neither the pope, nor the inquisitors at Lisbon, tell us what they did with Mar Simeon. But if the Portuguese relieved Abraham of his rival's presence, it was only that they might be nearer to their object of depriving the Syrian church of its native leaders, since they reasonably expected that death would soon do their work with the aged survivor. The schism, too, which was in their favour, was kept open by the opposition of Simeon's vicar-general Jacob, a valuable man to the Portuguese,

**The schism
in the church
renewed.**

**Mar Simeon
disposed of.**

though an enemy, since he had influence enough to divide the church without that episcopal authority which it was their great aim to destroy. Had he been a bishop, and had his life been prolonged, this man would have given Rome trouble, for he seems to have been distinguished by something of the courage and uprightness which were so lamentably wanting in all the four bishops who have passed before us. The ecclesiastics of Goa made one more attempt, in 1590, to get the old prelate into their hands, inviting or summoning him to a council of their church, but he would not be charmed, and, as age soon after confined him altogether to his house, they had to allow him to spend the remainder of his days in peace, and in the open profession of the Syrian faith.

**A new rival
to Abraham.**

A more formidable enemy to the Syrian Church than any which had yet assailed her was at this time buckling on his armour, and getting ready for a Romish crusade. This was Don Alexis de Menezes, archbishop elect of Goa. His orders from the pope were to examine into Mar Abraham's conduct, and if he found him guilty, that is, found him Syrian and not Romish, to seize him, and appoint a governor or vicar-apostolic of the Roman communion to administer the affairs of the diocese. Menezes was a distinguished Romanist, for his zeal outshone that of the pope. He condemned the Syrian prelate at once; but the old man had now to give in his account to a higher tribunal than that of Portugal, and he died in his bed, unaffected by the anathemas of Rome. His rival, Jacob, had died a little while before, so that Menezes had an easier work as well as greater talent than those who had gone before him. The prospects of the Syrians were then dark indeed, for the pope had given orders, which were faithfully executed, to prevent any communication of the Chaldean patriarch with the church of Malabar. Menezes nominated a Jesuit to the bishopric,

**Arrival in
India of
Don Alexis
de Menezes.**

**Death of
Mar Abraham.**

but the governor and council at Goa, who knew better than the archbishop the character which the Jesuits had earned in India, would not confirm the appointment. The leading man among the Syrians was now the arch-deacon George; and it was deemed the best policy to get him to accept confirmation in his office by papal authority. A joint commission with Romish ecclesiastics was first offered him, and on his refusal of this, Menezes proposed to him to retain the sole charge of his church, after subscribing to the articles of the Romish faith.

We have now another Syrian leader before us, and we naturally turn with pleasure from the consideration of his unworthy predecessors, hoping for better things in the new character which the history introduces to us. But all is again disappointment. If experience teaches the foolish, the Syrian leaders were worse than foolish, for they learnt nothing by experience, and archdeacon George, with the failures of Joseph and Simeon and Abraham before him, prepared to resume the battle with those weapons of dissimulation which Rome knew how to use so much better than any of her enemies. It is sad to see a church bearing such a character as that of Malabar—its members simple, honourable, generous, even by the reports of their persecutors—represented by men who are unworthy to be reckoned Christians at all. But, as we have already noticed, there was great weakness in the churches of the East. A conservatism unknown in Europe had preserved among them the profession of much primitive doctrine, but the life was for the most part gone; and while the recognition in any way of pure Gospel morality may have been sufficient to make the homely lives of the Syrians a pattern to the surrounding heathen, it was not enough to fit their leaders for discharging the duties and overcoming the temptations of the episcopate in those days of cruel, deceitful, and patronising Popery. It ought

Another
Syrian leader.

Some reasons
for the faults
of the pre-
ceding leaders.

also to be noticed, that the Syrian bishops were probably in many cases strangers to India until they entered upon their office. This seems, at any rate, to have been the case with Abraham and Simeon, whom the Chaldean patriarch sent out at the request of the Syrians; and if so, the character of these men reflects dishonour, not upon the church which suffered from their misconduct, but upon the patriarch who could entrust the sacred office of a bishop to such unworthy hands. This fact removes much of the disgrace which at first appears ineffaceable from the character of Malabar Christianity; but much remains which we cannot remove. We have no reason to doubt that archdeacon George was a Syrian, and throughout the further history of Rome's aggressions there are so many examples of shallowness and vacillation in the mass of the people, and such a constant absence of anything like spirituality of mind, or of the truth held in the power of faith, as to make it quite natural that the champion of the Church should be a man not of spiritual power but of worldly policy. This worldly policy decided the archdeacon to temporize with Menezes, and to promise to do all he required at a certain time.

**Temporizing
policy of the
archdeacon.**

When the time came he broke his word, as he had all along intended to do. But Menezes was not a man to be trifled with, and the archdeacon trembled as he threatened to visit the Serra. He therefore offered to subscribe to the Romish articles before any one but a Jesuit. The Jesuits were disgusted, but Menezes took him at his word, and appointed a Franciscan to hear his confession. The confession, however, when it was extorted, was found to mean nothing, and the archdeacon was compelled to make another before certain other monks of the same order. But if on the former occasion he knew that his confession meant nothing, on the latter he comforted himself and explained to his people that he knew nothing of what it meant. He had simply put his name

**His unmeaning
confessions.**

to a paper written in Portuguese, of which language he was happy to be ignorant. After this attempt to satisfy the Romanists, the archdeacon continued to preach as a Nestorian. But he did not know the man he had to deal with. Menezes was soon in his territories, pushing the battle to the gate. A terrible man was this new archbishop, with one strong arm for the Church and another for the State; zealous and crafty, bold and yet cautious; equally at home in treating with kings, outwitting the archdeacon, bullying his priests, and deceiving his people; in all things worthy to have been a general of the Jesuits. He intended no hasty raid upon the Serra, but a visitation which should make him master of the country; not of the person of the chief offender, for that, however it might have satisfied his predecessors, would have been little to Menezes, but of the churches and of the whole population. This was no easy task; for though the Syrian bishops had shown themselves faithless, the mass of the people had no motive for changing their religious opinions, and had stoutly resisted the Franciscans and Jesuits who had laboured to make them do so. But the Archbishop, knowing his powers, not only undertook this difficult task, but filled his hand with politics too, and showed himself as skilful in plotting against hostile or friendly rajahs for the aggrandisement of Portugal as he was in proselytising among the simple but obstinate Syrians. He commenced his visitation at Cannanore, and proceeded thence to Cochín, where he was met by the terrified archdeacon. But archdeacon George looked strong as yet, for a numerous band of Syrian soldiers protected him, and their captains swore to resist the designs of Menezes. The archbishop betook himself to preaching, in which he must have had singular faith, since the people are said not to have understood a word of his speech. Still, a Romish archbishop in his canonicals was an imposing

Menezes' intentions in visiting the Serra.

He preaches in Portuguese.

sight, and Menezes had at least as much hope of converting the people by their eyes as by their ears; and, no doubt, there were some who were able to tell the unlearned afterwards how the archbishop had been exposing the errors of Nestorianism, and proving the claims of the Church of Rome.

The Syrians were a people remarkable for civility, and while Menezes refrained from abuse they would listen to him, or at least look at him with respect, and many even submitted to be confirmed, having been sufficiently prepared for the rite, according to Romish judgment, by a "procession for sins." But little was really gained as yet, excepting two Syrian ecclesiastics. The people generally remained unconvinced, even when they allowed the hands of Rome to be laid upon them, and the violence of Menezes in denouncing their patriarch at Babylon, excited their anger and put him in some danger from the more warlike Syrians, while the naires, or Hindu soldiery, against whose idolatry he inveighed with equal boldness, were naturally offended by the overbearing demeanour of the foreign priest. Aware, however, that Hindus and Syrian christians would mutter long before they would strike a blow at the representative of Portugal, Menezes went on his way, getting wiser and more formidable by experience.

Half a dozen places had been visited with these results, when the archbishop had a conference with archdeacon George, at which it was determined to hold a synod, for the settlement of all vexed questions, and to refrain, in the meantime, from speaking or acting against each other. This was such a truce as the church of Rome has often resorted to—one by which she has no intention of being bound herself, seeing it is unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, but by which she hopes to tie the hands of her opponents, who may reasonably be expected to have more conscience

**Confirms some
of the Syrians
and gains two
ecclesiastics.**

**Confers with
the archdeacon,
and proposes
to hold a
Synod.**

than herself. The archbishop and the archdeacon parted, the latter to do nothing, the former to conduct important political arrangements, to plan the destruction of a fort being built by a friendly native prince, to proclaim a victory on the defeat of his countrymen, and to break his faith with the Syrians on the earliest convenient opportunity.

Fear of Menezes had hitherto restrained archdeacon George from open hostility. He had hoped against hope, and tried hard to believe some of the promises of his adversary. He would have purchased peace at any price but the absolute subjection of his church to Rome; but that was Menezes's only price, and the archdeacon was now forced to see it, and to accept the only position that was left him. He warned his people and the native princes of the common danger, and called upon them to thwart the Romish prelate. The Rajah of Cochin did what he could, but he was too late. Menezes held an ordination at Diamper, and so attached thirty-eight priests to himself and the cause of Rome. Thence he moved to Carturté, a place of considerable importance, where even greater success attended him. Threatened on his way by the naires, insulted by the Christians, ordered out of the district by the native ruler, he quietly worked on with his many tools until Carturté gave in its submission and was duly Romanised. To produce such a result the archbishop had to use all his talent. The naires were braved or avoided; the ranee treated with, cajoled and outwitted; the Syrians plied with every means by which the church of Rome makes converts. The authority of Menezes with his own church and countrymen, and consequent power to promote those who espoused his cause, would doubtless determine some to join him. Two at least, already inclined that way, were gained by money and

**Archdeacon
George
being deceived,
breaks off
communication.**

**First
ordination of
Syrians by
Menezes.**

**Conquest of
the church, at
Carturté.**

promises, while the people in general were tempted by music, displays of dress, and similar appeals to their senses. At first this pomp, contrasting with their own simple worship, offended the Syrians; but it was too pleasing to human nature to continue to do so with men who had but little spiritual life, and so it worked as Menezes expected it to work, and gaining a place for itself, it introduced the teaching and the ceremonies which the Romish prelate blended with it, until the poor Syrians, who were confident of their stability as Peter, were the humble servants of their church's enemy, and ready to listen quietly to his proposal of deposing their archdeacon. The means by which the archbishop completed his victory at Carturté was the affectation of extraordinary humility and virtue. He washed the feet of the cattanars or Syrian priests, visited the sick throughout the town, and dispensed alms liberally, expressing abhorrence of the "simony" of the cattanars in receiving salaries from the people. The Syrians, of course, knew nothing of the archbishop's salary, and they were overwhelmed with admiration of his disinterestedness. He utilised his success by holding another ordination, and thereby in-

Another
Romish
ordination.

increasing the number of his Romish Syrian priests. Having learned to convert the people, Menezes' chief business lay in managing the native princes, who had become alarmed at his success, and were striving to hinder him. This was no difficult matter to a man of his spirit, backed by the authority of Portugal. The rajah of Cochin, who was the chief offender, and who had imprisoned, his subjects for giving a welcome to Menezes, was forced into an alliance, and the two shepherds—heathen king and Romish archbishop—drove the flocks of Molandurté and Diamper into the fold of the "catholic church." These three places being im-

Menezes
overawes the
native princes.

Molandurté
and Diamper
subdued.

portant centres, others of course quickly followed their example: were baptised and confirmed, instructed in the use of holy oils, the pix of the host, and other matters of equal importance, and made to see the errors of their ancient creed, the usurpation of their patriarch at Babylon, and the truth and authority of the church of Rome. Some points of Menezes' teaching, however, we do not wonder that they were slow to receive. Auricular confession was especially unpalatable. But Menezes knew how to affect forbearance, and he could

Objection of
the Syrians
to auricular
confession.

afford to wait for entire conformity in so tractable a church. He even bore with the archdeacon, whom he had intended at Carturté to depose at once. The proselytes had begged twenty days' grace for the leader they were deserting. Menezes, whose mask then was that of an angel of light, did more than they desired, and completed his visits to several other towns before he again threatened the archdeacon. The latter, forsaken by his own people, and a prey to increasing terror, at length offered to submit. Menezes gave him ten articles to sign, and twenty days in which to return them, with the abjuration of his Syrian faith. The archdeacon professed his readiness to do everything he was told, but complained of the shortness of the time. His persecutor saw that he was still leaning upon two heathen princes, the rajahs of Cochin and Mangate. Portuguese threats soon struck these props from under him, and the Syrian fell into the arms of the Roman Catholic. He signed away his faith and his liberty privately in the Jesuit college of Vaipicotta.

The archdeacon
finally submits.

A great part of the work which Rome had at heart was now accomplished. What Franciscans and even Jesuits had failed to do in many years of sapping and mining, the new archbishop had effected by a bold *assault*. His immense secular and ecclesiastical power, and the force and subtility of his character, had made

him master of the Syrian archdeacon, and of many of the Syrian churches. But the work wanted consolidating: Menezes could not give his whole time to forging chains for the people of Malabar; it was necessary that they should learn to make them for themselves and to put them on one another. He therefore returned to his early proposal of holding a synod, at which the doctrines and practices of the church of Malabar should be considered and determined. No one who heard this proposal could have the slightest doubt what it meant. The man who had laboured so earnestly to establish the dominion of the pope in Malabar, could have no thought of allowing his captives to think for themselves. Yet a synod was a good thing in itself. Many of the churches were now fascinated by Menezes, the rest were terrified and disunited, and the archdeacon had surrendered at discretion. So the synod was easily arranged. The place chosen was Diamper, already famous for the ordination of Menezes' first company of Syro-Romish priests. The archbishop called together the clergy whom he had proselytised, and the archdeacon, at the command of his master, summoned the rest of the Cattanars. Six weeks intervened between the invitations and the opening of the synod—six weeks which offered one more opportunity to the Christians of Malabar to consider their position, and to avert the ecclesiastical destruction which threatened them. But as in every former case, the opportunity was lost. The church was paralysed if it was not dead. There was no effort, no consultation, no prayer. In this state of helplessness and spiritual unconsciousness they went to meet their enemies at Diamper.

Renewed
proposal of
a general
synod.

It is held at
Diamper.

But if the six weeks were nothing to the Syrians, they were much to Menezes and his church. By the assistance of Francis Roz, an able Jesuit, and an accomplished Syrian scholar,

Menezes' preparation for
the synod.

he drew up the decrees for the approaching synod, arranging what the Syrians were henceforth to do and believe, and consecrated a stone altar for every one of their churches in Malabar. But most important of all, lest any reaction among his recent proselytes should make it possible he should be found in a minority, he added fifty priests to the number he had already ordained on the abjuration of their ancient creed, gave bribes freely, and laboured in correspondence both with the Portuguese and with the native rajahs to remove every misunderstanding and every political hindrance which might affect the completeness of his success. The result was worthy of Menezes, and worthy of the Syrians. God was not in the matter on either side, as far as the testimony of history goes. There was purpose, union, and craft on the one side; apathy, disorder, and infatuation on the other. Rome, of course, triumphed. Those who are acquainted with her invasion of the Church of Britain in the seventh century, and who know how she bore down all before her in spite of the piety and heroism of hundreds of our native clergy, will not wonder at her easy conquest of Malabar.

The synod of Diamper met on the 20th of June, 1599, and on the 26th it had settled the affairs of the Syrian Church. Considering the extent of its decrees, and the prodigious number of doctrines and practices which it corrected or introduced, business appears to have been got through very quickly; a circumstance not very remarkable when it is remembered that the real council had been sitting for six weeks in Menezes' cabinet, and that there was scarcely any faith, ability, or courage among the Syrians to oppose or even to question the decrees which the archbishop and his Jesuit colleague had prepared for their reception. If we may suppose the synod of Diamper to have represented the Syrian Church, and by their submission, obedience to the summons, and failure to make any protest,

**The Syrian
Church united
by the synod of
Diamper to
that of Rome.**

both the archdeacon and his clergy allowed this to be the case, that ancient church was thus legally united to Rome, and perverted to all the superstitions and idolatries of popery. No doubt there were many towns and villages in the Serra where Menezes and his doctrines were still held in abhorrence; many he had, probably, never visited, and some few had resisted him successfully; but the only native head of the church, and its representatives in the leading cities, had, through infatuation or cowardice, sold the liberties of all in subscribing the decrees of the synod of Diamper. Henceforth the pope and his warlike legate might rest from the labours of invasion, and devote their energies to the easier task of holding and governing a conquered people.

The activity of Menezes was not diminished by the success of the synod. He set out to apply that success by a second visitation of the Serra—not this time as the foreign ecclesiastic with unacknowledged claims, but as the Catholic archbishop of Goa, and metropolitan of the Syrian Churches. Where he was received before, he was not likely to be resisted now; consequently his progress had often the appearance of a triumphal procession. Indeed, on the occasion of his arrival at the episcopal city of Angamale, his reception is said to have been arranged after the model of our Lord's last public entry into Jerusalem. Notwithstanding this recognition of the dignity of Angamale, Menezes decreed that it should cease to be the residence of the Syrian bishop, and that Cranganore, which was more easily reached by the influences of Goa, should be the episcopal city. As he passed from place to place, he not only, as apostles had once done, "delivered them the decrees for to keep," but he added what apostles did not, and enforced the keeping of them with a strong arm of flesh. Everybody at Diamper, and probably in other places also, was re-baptised. The Cattanars were forced to separate from

**Menezes
revisits the
Serra,
and applies the
Decrees of
the synod.**

their wives; the people were confirmed and urged to the use of auricular confession, against which, as well as against confirmation, they still showed much of their original repugnance. All books in the Syriac language were called for, that they might be corrected according to the synod, or destroyed. From the extreme fewness of such books now in existence, it is reasonably supposed that this demand of Menezes was as fully complied with as the rest, and that the eye of the bigoted Romanist found the books of the ancient and independent church too free from the errors of his own corrupted faith, and too much in agreement with primitive and scriptural truth, to allow many of them to escape destruction. Thus this able and devoted servant of Rome afforded another of those many proofs which history keeps on record, that she is ready to destroy all knowledge, secular and sacred, in order to prolong or extend her reign of darkness over the minds of men.

**Destroys
many of the
Syrian books.**

At the close of his second visit to the Serra, Menezes appointed the humbled and powerless archdeacon to a nominal share of authority in his church, associating him with two Jesuits, the rector of the College at Vaipicotta and Francis Roz. This arrangement, however, was only to last until the people were persuaded to choose a Latin bishop, and being now Romanised themselves they were not slow to accede to the proposal. They first wanted Menezes himself to be their bishop, but he had higher honours in his church than that of bishop of the Serra, though he affected a readiness to resign all for the joy and privilege of tending the flock whom he had brought into the Catholic fold. The man who had most helped him in this work was Francis Roz, and him they selected for their bishop. Menezes left the work in the hands of this able lieutenant and returned to Goa to reap the reward of his labours. He was made Viceroy of India; and, armed with all the

**The
Archdeacon
appointed to a
nominal and
temporary
authority.**

secular authority of Portugal and all the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, he continued to labour by force and fraud for the glorification of his church and himself.

But this point touches the strict limit of our subject. Beyond it we pass into the seventeenth century. We must very briefly sketch the history of the Syrians after this time. Before doing so, however, we cannot but take a parting glance at the man who had destroyed their liberties.

**The last of
Don Alexis de
Menezes.**

He was another Wolsey—another example of successful fraud, and late but heavy retribution. He returned to Europe, rose to the highest offices of the state, then fell, and died in obscurity; so complete being his disgrace that history scarcely pauses to tell the end of the man who had decided the fate of one of the most ancient churches of Christendom. We know that this life is not the time in which men reap their full reward; but we cannot take this last look of Don Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, and Viceroy of India, without recalling the words of Paul to Timothy:—"Some men's sins are open before hand, going before unto judgment."

Francis Roz was consecrated in 1601, and ruled the Syrians for sixteen years, leaving the office to other Jesuits, who completed the work which Roz had begun, and by pride, selfishness, and cruelty, taught the poor Syrians, whom they treated as slaves, to understand the character of the Church whose yoke they had put upon their own necks. For sixty years they learned their bitter lessons in the school of experience, showing how slowly they apprehended the truth by their frequent appeals to Rome for deliverance. But at last they seem to have found out that their masters were the pope's masters too, and they declared themselves again independent. They rallied under their archdeacon, but sent to Mosul, to Syria, and to Egypt for a bishop. The patriarch at Mosul readily acceded to their request, but

**The rule and
influence of
Jesuit bishops
over the
Syrian Church.**

**The Syrians
rebel after
sixty years of
oppression.**

the bishop whom he sent was captured, and after a time of imprisonment, from which the Syrians vainly attempted to rescue him, was murdered by the Inquisition. This crime, like most crimes, directly hindered the cause it was intended to promote. The Syrians, still divided and irresolute, needed a stimulant in their resistance; the murder of Attala afforded it, and refreshed their memories regarding the true character of the Jesuits in particular. But a subtle attack of a similar kind to that of Menezes' was more than they were able to meet.

Four Carmelites set out from Rome to bring back the wanderers. Two arrived long before the others, and laboured with a good deal of skill and success to quell the insurrection. They were not Jesuits:

**An expedition
of Carmelites
is sent from
Rome to
reclaim them.**

that made them popular with many; for the churches of the South had revolted, not from Rome, but from their Jesuit bishops. But they were thwarted by the hated Order, who cared not what they sacrificed so long as they did not sacrifice themselves. Moreover, Portuguese influence could help them little; for the sun of Portugal was setting, and the Dutch, with their republican courage and Protestantism, were driving them from one stronghold after another.

Yet the feeble Syrians, who, in less favourable circumstances, would have yielded everything, and whom Menezes would have trampled on in a few weeks, were for the most part won by the wiles of the Carmelites, who were greatly inferior in subtlety to the first conqueror. The result of many negotiations, interrupted conferences, and proposals on either side, was that a great number of the Syrian churches returned to their allegiance to Rome, and accepted one of the Carmelites as their bishop. Those which did so were in the southern and wealthier division of the Serra; the churches of the north retained the independence they had resumed. But the new bishop harassed them incessantly.

**The south
of the Serra
again submits
to Rome.**

ly, and by means of money, patronage, heathen rajahs, and heathen soldiers, drove free Syrians from many of their churches. He very nearly succeeded in driving the archdeacon, and having seized effects he burned some of them, expressing his regret it was not the rebel's body he was committing to flames. The capture of Cochin by the Dutch, in 1663, checked his progress; for Dutch drove all priests before them, refused to allow them to return even on promise of peace. This determined the Syrian bishop to retire to Europe, but he had previously created a native suffragan, whom he left to supply his place. The Dutch did nothing directly for the free Syrians, but even showed a preference for the Romish Syrian bishop. Their arrival, however, was the occasion of persecution and active hostilities. From that time the Serra was divided between two churches, Syrian and Romish, bitterly opposed to one another, though they had groaned together under sixty years of Jesuit oppression. The archdeacon, whom the Syrian priests had ordained as bishop during the imprisonment of Attala, and the Syrian bishop whom the Carmelites had set over the Southern churches, died about the same time. After the Northern churches seem to have been for some time without a head: possibly the temporary freedom of the South from Jesuit bishops caused them to relax something of their zeal for independence. In 1708, the Syrians are said to have received a Nestorian bishop from Persia, and this agrees well with the fact that the South, after being governed by natives under Carmelite influence, fell again into the hands of the Jesuits in 1701. The last link of this old chain which we possess in the chain of Syrian bishops, is the accession of another Jesuit to the

**Persecution
of the free
Syrians by the
Carmelite
bishop.**

**Open
persecution
checked by the
arrival of
the Dutch.**

**Deaths of
the Northern
and Southern
bishops.**

**The Jesuits
again in the
episcopate.**

episcopal office in 1721. We do not wonder if the return of their old tyrants and persecutors increased the distance between the free and the Romanized Syrians. And thus the breach in the ancient Church of Malabar, which was made a thousand years ago by the pride of wealth and birth, has been kept open to the present time. No doubt it tended much, in the first days of Romish aggression, to make all the Serra an easy prey to Menezes, and so to bring the whole church under the severe chastisement which we have been briefly describing. But it is interesting to observe that the last result of that separation which the South had forced upon the North, in an unchanging spirit of contempt, and so in utter and continued neglect of Christian love, was the relighting of the candle of truth among the despised ones, while their proud brethren of the South remained for the most part in the darkness of Popery. As to the latter, suffering and trial did not, as they have often done, impart strength to their character or develope latent good. They had pure doctrine, but having no spiritual life or moral courage to maintain it, what they had was almost entirely taken away. Their light was put out, and when the extreme pressure of the dark power of Portugal was gone, they cared not and knew not how to rekindle it.

But although history says nothing, excepting in the matter of the pride of the south, to make us prefer the northern Syrians, or expect better things from them than from their brethren, they do seem to have learnt something by the time of trouble. The account which Dr. Buchanan gives of them from his visit in 1806, represents a better state of things in some of the clergy than appears to have obtained in the time of Menezes' invasion. The portrait of the bishop especially, affords

The ancient
breach in the
Church
perpetuated.

Pride and
destruction
illustrated in
the fate of
the South.

Some little
advantage
reaped by the
North from its
troubles.

The account

Different
opinions about
the state of
the clergy.

a pleasing contrast to those which the history of the sixteenth century has laid before us. It is that of "a man of highly respectable character in his church; eminent for his piety and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions," and far superior in general learning to his clergy, although these, as far as Dr. Buchanan had experience of them, appear as intelligent and religious men. We must notice, however, that the impression made upon the mind of another church of England clergyman, who visited them twelve years later, was much less favourable, and that whatever exceptions there may have been, the general character of the clergy appeared to him to be very low. He speaks of the people as "sunk and degraded indeed," and adds, "the total disregard of the Sabbath, the profanation of the name of God, drunkenness, and to a considerable extent, especially among the priesthood, adultery, are very prevalent among them." Sorrows besides those which Rome had caused them had broken the spirit of the nation. The rajah of Travancore had conquered their country, and cruelly oppressed them; and the result seems to have been an increase of moral weakness and the diminishing of self-respect and of hope. Still, they were by no means hopeless to those who described them thus; for these true friends, who could estimate most correctly the degradation, set themselves earnestly to raise them up.

A mission of the church of England was established among them in 1815, through the exertions of Major Munro, the Christian and philanthropic resident at Travancore. By his means four clergymen of intelligence and piety were settled among the Syrians, one at Allepie and three at Cotym. The head quarters of the mission were at the latter place, and there a college was founded for the education of Syrian youths. The machinery was much the same as

**The Church
Missionary
Society in
Malabar.**

**A College
and Schools
founded, and
the Scriptures
translated into
Malayalim.**

that of the Franciscans and the Jesuits, but the motive of the workers and the use which they made of it were very different. All that these labourers of the Church Missionary Society strove to do, was to bring back the Church of Malabar to a spiritual acquaintance with its ancient creed. One great means to this end was the dispelling of the sloth and ignorance which had settled upon the nation. The college and a number of schools, established throughout the Serra, helped to do this. But the missionaries, and some among the Syrians themselves, felt that the great means must be the dissemination of the Word of God. Dr. Buchanan, ten years before, had exerted himself to procure this boon for them, and his efforts were partially successful. The old bishop, whom he describes, entered heartily into the work, and very soon translated the four gospels into Malayalim, the vernacular language of the people. But the work seems to have stopped there for some years, as Mr. Bailey, the superintendent of the college at Cotym, devoted himself chiefly to the translation of the Scriptures, until he was able to produce the first part of his work in 1826.

The Bible Society had presented the Syrians with the Syriac New Testament in 1818, providing at least one copy for every one of their churches; but this language was now scarcely spoken by any but the priests, and the great want of the people had to be supplied from the press at Cotym. Besides this best of all services, and the instruction of the Syrian youth, the English missionaries were made the medium of all the kind offices of the British government in the redress of grievances, and the general protection of the people from tyranny. And thus a most happy and well-grounded confidence has been created among this much abused people in the Established Church and government of India—a confidence which is not likely to fail in raising the moral tone of the Syrians, and reflecting honour of

**Syriac New
Testament pro-
vided by the
Bible Society.**

**Confidence of
the Syrians in
the English
missionaries.**

the truest kind upon the country whose statesmen and missionaries have befriended them.

More than once the desire has been expressed that this Protestant remnant of the Syrian Church might be united with the Established Church of England. Apparently the first to entertain this thought were the directors of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, who were generously lending their aid to the Danish and German pioneers of Tranquebar. But the design was abandoned as impracticable at that time, owing to the low state in which the Syrians were found. No doubt some advantages might reasonably have been expected from this union, such as the protection and support of an aged and feeble church, and the prestige and authority of that church communicated to one that, with all its numbers and strength, would be regarded in the East as foreign and of comparatively recent existence. But on the other hand, we could scarcely see without regret a church of such antiquity and such a history as that of Malabar ceasing to possess a separate individuality. It would seem to us like the transference of some grand old Roman column from its lonely forum to the busy precincts of a modern palace. Let British power overshadow and preserve it. Let Christian charity delight to enrich it with the spiritual life and knowledge of the West, but let it remain a pillar of memorial, upon which the history of fifteen hundred years is written, an independent testimony against the Apostate Church of Rome, and a witness in the midst of the heathen to the chastening but protecting hand of God.

**Proposal of
uniting the
Syrian Church
with that of
England.**

The close of the sixteenth century was the close of the first part of the missionary labours of Rome in India. Early in the

**Later Romish
Missions to the
Heathen.**

next century her emissaries introduced an entirely new system for the conversion of the heathen. The details of their labours do not belong to our present subject, but we cannot leave them entirely unnoticed, as it is impossible to separate between the fruits of these late missions and that of Xavier and his contemporaries in considering the influence of Hindu Romanism on the labours of Protestant missionaries.

We have already arrived at an estimate of the first Romish missions to India in considering the impression made by them upon the mind of Xavier. There was no one more competent to judge correctly in this matter; for Xavier, besides being the man of largest experience, was on the one hand honest, intelligent, and christian at heart, and on the other enthusiastic, sanguine, and zealous for Rome. He would have believed in conversions if it had been possible to do so; but after baptising tens of thousands, he left the country dissatisfied and heartsick, openly declaring that there was no further need of his services, and advising his sovereign to make the conversion of the heathen the business of civil magistrates, that is, to be satisfied with compelling Hindus to adopt the name and forms of the religion of Rome, since her missionaries had no power among them to change their hearts and lives. Xavier's converts were all of the lowest caste, or of no caste, with the exception of one Brahmin, who professed Christianity in order to obtain employment; and, poor converts as they were, few of them could be claimed by him, as the mass was ready to be baptised when he reached the shores of India. His biographers and his church generally gave him credit for extraordinary success; but his wily brethren the Jesuits, while they gloried in his fame, saw that he had failed and sought to profit by his experience. Xavier's simplicity, purity, and earnestness had been thrown away upon the Brahmins, much as he had desired to bring them within the fold of his church. His successors determined to use other means for the same

purpose. The age of blind but often honest zeal was followed by that of deliberate fraud. Xavier was the representative of the first, Robert de Nobili of the second. The latter entered upon his work about the year 1606, in the city of Madura. By that time the Jesuits were, as we have seen, in force and power in the East. De Nobili gave a new direction to their energies, and boldly developing the peculiarities of Jesuitism in himself and his associates, he gave it a form which continued to characterise the missionaries of the Society both in India and China until the suppression of the order in 1773. The zeal, the courage, the perseverance of the Jesuits had before this been tried on many a field, and had surmounted innumerable difficulties; but the Brahmins of India were stubborn antagonists, and offered no hope to ordinary means of conversion. This showed the new Jesuits that they must use extraordinary means; for Jesuits must succeed at any cost and by any means where success is possible. De Nobili and his associates, sacrificed everything to their missionary object. Outside the history of true Christianity there is no record of more complete devotedness than that of the Jesuits of Madura. All the ease and comforts of life were as thoroughly yielded up as ever they have been by Protestant missionaries, or even by primitive apostles. But more than this, reputation and principle, the goodwill of their church, and even of their general, were all cast, like Palissy's last furniture, into the flames, in the hope of producing the one soul-absorbing object. Nothing was left but the proud indomitable self, which could sit in the midst of the desolation, contented with the freedom of its own bad will. These later Jesuits presented themselves to the heathen as heathen like themselves—Brahmins from another part of the world and of the very highest order. They had previously studied the language and religion of the Hindus, in order to be able to maintain this

Jesuit
Brahmins, and
Brahminized
Christianity.

Devotedness
of these later
Jesuits.

character; and the learning and skill which they devoted to their life-long lie have never been surpassed in the cause of truth. By the most solemn asseverations respecting their Hindu origin, by forged documents, and by the adoption of idolatrous customs, they succeeded in establishing themselves among the natives in the character which they had assumed. They then proceeded to graft some of the doctrines of Roman Christianity upon the Hinduism which they professed, by inventing a book after the model of the most sacred Shastras, with texts of Scripture and fables of Rome cleverly interspersed among the sayings of Brahma, and introducing it to the Brahmins as the fifth Veda.

By these means, and by exclusive attention to the ruling caste and Brahminical contempt for the lower orders, they soon met with some measure of success; and gradually the Romish element of their new religion, they led those who were deceived by them into a system which they declared to Europe to be Christianity, but which Rome, and even the popes of Rome, repudiated with a rarely felt sentiment of shame. But the Jesuits worked on steadily, in spite of Papal reprimands and condemnation, and the mission field was almost abandoned to them, for Franciscans and Carmelites could not stand against these skilful and determined rivals, with their Brahminical Christianity. Their head quarters were at Madura and Pondicherry, but they spread themselves throughout southern India, and sent their emissaries to the court of Akhbar, at Delhi; while others of their order laboured on the same principles and with like results among the Buddhists of China. For nearly one hundred and fifty years the fraud of de Nobili, and the still more learned and infamous Beschi, the great Indian Jesuit of the eighteenth century, remained undiscovered, and thousands of Hindus were led to its worse than Romish Christianity. These, together with the political converts of Cape

Converts
to Brahminized
Christianity.

Numbers of
Romish Converts.

Comorin, and others who had rewarded the labours of earlier missionaries in South India, amounted in 1740 A.D. to about 245,000. But from that time, the great fraud having become known, conversions among the Brahmins ceased, and the statistics of the Hindu Romish Church dwindled in 1810 to about 81,000, or one-third of what they had been seventy years before.

Thus, even numerically, Romish missions to India must be considered a failure. And this appears more clearly when we consider the vast amount of authority, and wealth, and learning, and energy which has supported them for three hundred years. For a century and a half after their first establishment there was no Protestant mission on the continent of India. With papal and royal powers their missionaries worked on without a rival. Goa, the city of churches and monasteries, sent out its 3,000 priests and overawed with its dreadful Inquisition, not only the converts of Rome, but all who would tempt them to return to their ancient faith. What terror could do, that inquisition did. Founded in 1560, it blackened the soil of India till 1816. According to the testimony of the traveller Pyrand, its cruelties were even greater than those perpetrated in Spain and Portugal, its executions more frequent, its dungeons more horrible, and the hopes of its captives more groundless. To aid in the work of this hideous tribunal, Catholic Europe laboured mightily, waking up in the beginning of the seventeenth century to an activity which she had never known before. From that time, "Congregations," "Colleges," "Seminaries" for the propagation of the faith sprang into existence both at Rome and in Paris, and vastly stimulated the work of proselytism. But in spite of them all there was no great harvest of converts, and what was reaped has been declared by honest Romanists, and proved by the facts of history to have been at least as worthless as the fruit of Xavier's mission.

Immense amount
of instrumentality
to produce
these numbers.

The Inquisition
in India.

Worthlessness of
later Romish
Converts as well
as of those of
Xavier.

The Abbé Dubois, an honest Jesuit, who for many years, and with an earnestness which challenged the scrutiny of his enemies, strove to make converts in southern India, retired from the mission field in despair in 1815. His settled conviction, after this long experience, and with a knowledge of the labours of his predecessors and contemporaries, was that the conversion of Hindu idolators was an impossibility. The result of his own efforts had been the baptism of two or three hundred outcasts, vagabonds, and slaves, not one of whom could be reckoned a genuine convert, since many of them returned to Paganism, while those who continued to call themselves Christians were in their lives the worst of all. To establish his opinion he published the fact—as he said, to his own shame, but surely much more to that of his Church—that of 60,000 native Romanists seized in Mysore by the bigoted Mussulman, Tippoo Sultan, with a view of extirpating Christianity by compelling them to become Mahometans, not one was found who had the faith and courage to prefer death for the sake of Christ, to circumcision in the name of the false prophet. From the miserable condition of the converts everywhere, and the rapid decrease of their numbers, the Abbé declared his conviction that within fifty years no vestige of Christianity would remain among them. This result, if it was at that time imminent, has been prevented by a great increase of missionary effort within the Church of Rome during the last forty years. India has felt with Europe the result of the re-establishment of the Jesuits in 1814. A new life—though by no means a spiritual life—has been communicated to the missions of Rome since they recovered possession of the field. But if they succeed in restoring an appearance of numerical strength they will not surpass Xavier in zeal, or De Nobili and Beschi in learning or fraud; and therefore, having no new implements for the work, the most they can expect to do is to reproduce the weary history of the

Instance of
general apostacy.

past three hundred years, and to continue to exhibit to the world a roll of meaningless baptisms, and a paganism and immorality under the Christian name, which must go far to prove to discerning minds, whether in Europe or in India, the spiritual impotence and antichristian character of their Church.

But the story of Protestant Indian missions is that which proves most clearly the failure of the missionaries of Rome. In contrast with the ecclesiastical authority and the royal funds which supported Xavier and his successors, the Protestant missionaries on the mainland of India have had to struggle, in almost every instance, against comparative poverty and the opposition or plainly expressed contempt of the government. It is true that in the first efforts of Protestantism by means of Ziegenbalg and Plutchou at Tranquebar, the hand of a king laid the foundation of the work, and an archbishop had something to do with building upon it. But the patronage of these dignitaries was a very different thing from the protection and stimulant which the Pope and a Roman Catholic king could lend to the work of Xavier or Menezes. It was not enough to protect the humble and uncomplaining preachers of the Gospel from the hostility of the Danish governor, or to prevent the continual recurrence of trial and difficulty through the scantiness of the means provided for their support. Moreover their numbers were not at any time to be compared with those engaged in Romish missions; the difficulty of influencing the heathen at all had greatly increased since the days of Xavier, by reason of the shameless immorality which for two hundred years had been associated with Christianity; while the object of their labours was vastly greater and proportionately harder to attain than that which occupied the thoughts of the Jesuits, since it

**The contrast of
Protestant
with Romish
Missions.**

**Difficulties
which beset
Protestantism.**

was the turning of idolators to God and to holiness of life, and not merely the drawing of them to an earthly church and to a change of rites and ceremonies.

In spite, however, of these difficulties, men were found as ready as Xavier to undertake the work, and the results have shown that they did not over-rate their strength. Not that there has been no

**Unquestionable
character of
Protestant
missionaries
in general.**

failure among Protestant missionaries. Instances of eccentricity, want of wisdom, inconsistency, and even of immorality, have occurred, which have checked the progress of the work. But there is no honest person who knows anything of the history of these missions who would not readily acknowledge that such instances, particularly those of moral inconsistency, have been extremely rare, and that Protestant missionaries have often won a hearing for their doctrines by the blamelessness of their lives. Let any one who would know the force of their testimony read the life of Christian

Frederick Schwartz, the man whom Hyder Ali—Mussulman and enemy of the British—called “the Christian,” and who saved the fort of Tanjore from the fierce soldier who paid him this weighty compliment by an influence over the surrounding country which no Hindu prince, or British general was able to exercise. And though Schwartz was a greater man than most of his brethren, their religion was the same as his, and his life presents no contrast to theirs as that of Xavier does to the lives of other Romish missionaries. If Schwartz was “the Christian” to Hyder Ali, the elder Gerické was known as “the primitive Christian” by those among whom he had spent thirty-seven

**Example of
Schwartz.**

**And the elder
Gerické**

years of holy and self-denying labour; and the later history of Southern India abounds with examples of men who for thirty, forty, and even fifty years gave evidence that they were worthy to be associated with Schwartz and Gerické, as Christians and as missionaries.

We do not wonder, then, that in spite of such difficulties as never occurred to Xavier and his followers, particularly the infatuation of England at the beginning of the present century, in publicly patronizing idolatry and offering every possible obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel, the truth declared by the lips and the lives of these men has won its way where the superstitions of Popery have utterly failed. We do not wonder that Brahmins and men of learning and wealth have yielded to the power which has energized these missions, and that from among them and other grades of natives—Hindu, Mahometans, and Romanist—a class of men has arisen who have been worthy helpers and successors of the great Protestant pioneers of Germany, and who, having renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, have commended themselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God, by many years of patiently endured suffering and effectual labour.

The reason of this difference between Romish and Protestant missions is easily told. The former were the efforts of man in his own will, his own wisdom, and his own power. But the task was too great for man, and so they failed. The latter were in great part the work of God; for a few weak men, conscious of their weakness, offered themselves to God for a work which strong men had been unable to do. They depended upon His Spirit, and spoke His Word, and suffered Him to work in their lives a manifestaion of His truth; and God used them, as they expected, to the conversion of many thousands in southern India. Moreover, the triumph of the simple Gospel in these first Protestant missions was enhanced not only by the greatness of the obstacles overcome, and the manifest reality of most of the converts who were gathered, but also by the successful assaults which were made upon the very strongholds of Hinduism. The high caste Hindus had hitherto been unreached by Christianity.

**Reason of the
different results
of Romish
and Protestant
missions.**

Xavier had no influence with them at all. De Nobili and Beschi adopted Brahminism that they might Romanize it, and the success of their labours depended upon leaving the pride and power of the ruling caste untouched. But the missionaries of Tranquebar, although they made the mistake of allowing caste some place in their Christian assemblies, and shrunk with unreasonable fear from ordaining to the ministry a low caste native catechist, had nevertheless, in preaching the plain Gospel of God, to insist upon those who would become Christians taking up the cross and openly following the rejected Saviour. So many were willing to do this, moved by the power of truth alone, that Schwartz could answer the mischievous calumny of an enemy in the British Parliament by pointing to the fact that in three native assemblies which he and his companions had gathered, more than two-thirds of the converts were Hindus of the higher castes ; and the reality of the change in the members of these Protestant churches was tested by one example among many—which contrasts strikingly with the case of general apostasy from Romanism which we have noticed on the authority of the Jesuit Dubois—when the recently baptised Christians of Tinnevely were tried by a severe and general storm of persecution, and came out of it without one of them having been known to have denied his faith.

**Influence of
Protestant
truth on some
Hindus of the
highest caste.**

**Proof of the
sincerity of
Protestant
converts by
the persecution
in Tinnevely.**

The sudden gathering of great numbers to the cross has been rare in India as it has been elsewhere, though it has happened in unquestionable instances both in the South and North. But even while the work has progressed most slowly, and all but a few have rejected the testimony, the workers have had the experience of the Lord Himself in His ministry on earth, and have realised what apostles

**Protestant mis-
sions have done
all that Scrip-
ture warrants
N. T. mission-
aries to expect.**

rejoiced to realise in the early days of the dispensation of the Spirit, that God had by their hand visited the Gentiles "to take out of them a people for his name."

The direct and immediate effect of Romish missions upon the later labours of Protestants has been an increase of trouble. The slightest glance at the missionary history of the last hundred and sixty years puts this beyond a doubt. Not even the heathen, whose religion was directly invaded, were such constant and bitter enemies to the truth as those who had been baptised by Romish priests in the name of Christ. It was these "Christians" who stirred up the heathen, while their own energies were stimulated to the work of persecution by their unwearying priests. Father Beschi, of the Madura mission, does not more deserve to be remembered as the deceiver of Brahmins, and the perverter, *par excellence*, of Christian truth, than as the chief opponent and persecutor of the evangelists of India during many years of the eighteenth century. These facts, however, do not prevent us seeing that real good resulted to the servants of God in India through the presence of Romanists. "Tribulation worketh patience"—one of the rarest and, according to Scripture, one of the most precious fruits of the Spirit,—and the persecution by the Romanists which early Protestants in India had to suffer most certainly produced this result both in the pastors and their flocks; so that they had cause, through the grace and providence of God, not only to "rejoice in hope of glory," but "to glory in tribulation also," because of the blessings which it brought. But there were exceptions to this spirit of bigotry among the Romanised Hindus, doubtless where there was a lack of priests to produce it; and in some of these cases the slight inroad which Popery had made upon their original idolatries, and the name into which they had been baptised, made

The direct and indirect influence of Romanism upon evangelistic work in India.

Grace brought out by persecution.

the people ready to listen to the words of those who came to them as Christian missionaries. From this class many have been gathered into the church of Christ, and among them some of its most devoted and honoured labourers, as Rajanaiken and his brother Sinappius, who served together in the Gospel for forty-four years, and drew the well-known Sattianaden and many other Romanists to the knowledge of the truth. The priests of Rome themselves, even her Jesuits and inquisitors, have not always been able to resist the weapons of the Gospel, and some of them have been turned on the soil of India to preach the faith which once they destroyed. Anxious ones too among the heathen, awakened without any visible means to a knowledge of sin and a desire for salvation, have sometimes been led by Romish converts or Romish books to a study of Christianity which has resulted in their becoming fellow-labourers of the Protestant missionaries in the work of the Gospel.

**Hindu
converts from
Romanism.**

**Converted
Romish
priests.**

**Anxious ones
helped by
Romish agency
in the search
for truth.**

Thus in a variety of ways God has shown that He could overrule the efforts of the apostate church to the building of His kingdom. But these are undoubtedly rare exceptions to the general influence of Romanism in India. In His moral government of the world, God allows men much liberty of will and action, and therefore evil must have room to work. Evil did work, apparently unrestrained, in the persecution of the Church of Malabar, and in the Jesuit missions which made the name of Christ to be abhorred among the heathen. But the free will and depravity of man cannot tie the hands of God. He has His purposes of government and of grace to nations and to individuals. As one of the early fathers said, "God never works in a hurry, for He has got all eternity to work upon." No nation has been raised to Christian enlightenment and moral

**Closing
reflections on
the purpose of
God in review
of past history.**

strength without a long preparation. Each has its infancy, growth, and full age, and these involve a school time of experience. While the darkness remains, and while it is rolling away with a slowness that provokes the impatience of unbelief, the Judge of all the earth must be just to all, and He will as surely acknowledge the gropings after truth that are unseen by man, as He will those efforts which in better times lead quickly to the light of the Gospel. But while thus the unwritten lives of millions are judged by Him according to what they had, and not according to what they had not, the nation of which they are units is an object of deep interest to Him, and He is leading it, according to principles of infallible wisdom, into its day of light and liberty. That day for India appears now to be at hand; and if we cannot understand all the purposes of God in the events of her past history, we have light enough in her early dawning to read a part of His meaning, and we must have faith to trust Him for the rest. We can at least see cause for thankfulness in the order in which God has allowed Popery and Christian truth to try their powers upon the idolatries of India. Was there not mercy in the arrangements that 'that should not be first which was spiritual, but that which was natural, and afterwards that which was spiritual;' in allowing Romanism to manifest its moral impotence when there was no other agent at work to lend it reputation, or to divide its shame, and then bringing in the simple but powerful Gospel among a people who, wherever the Romish priest had trod, would be warned by the worthlessness of Romanism against a mere change of names and ceremonies, and taught, by the contrast of what is real with what is nominal, that there is a Christianity which consists in a living faith in the Saviour, and spiritual worship of the Spirit God.

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